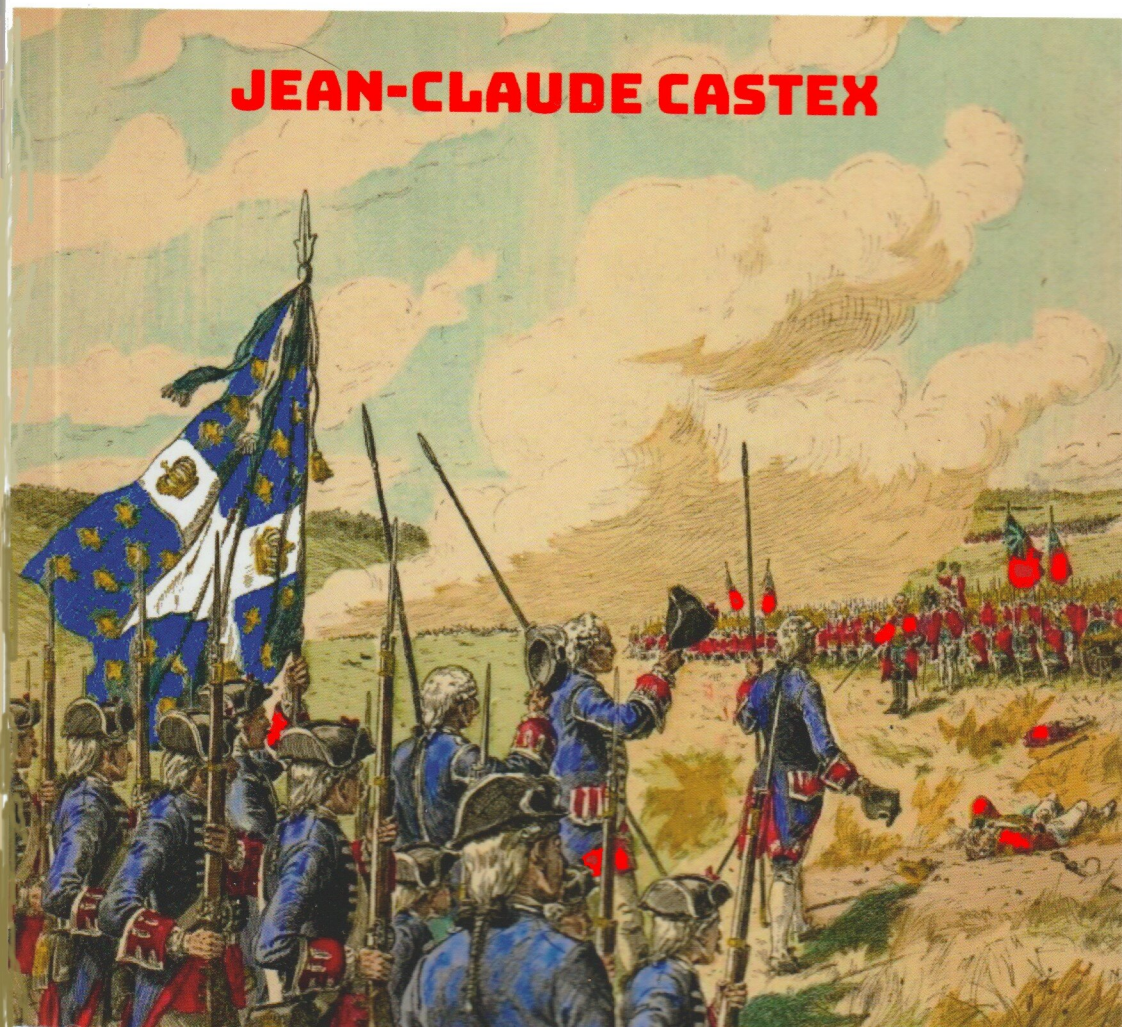
THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION 1740-1748

JEAN-CLAUDE CASTEX



To Coco, our gentle beloved guardian.

THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION 1740-1748

JEAN-CLAUDE CASTEX

Title: The War of the Austrian Succession 1740-1748

Author: Jean-Claude Castex

Cover: Child's drawing showing the two enemy armies facing each other at the Battle of Fontenoy (1745). One of the French flags is very prominent. It closely resembles the flag of the Battle of Carillon, fought at Ticonderoga, New York, in 1758, which would later become the official flag of the Province of Quebec."

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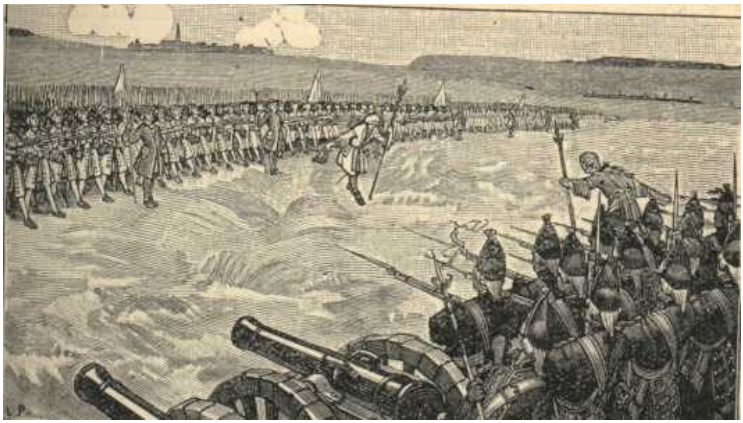

"Gentlemen of France, Fire first!"
"We shall never fire first!"
(Priv. Coll.)

Maria Theresa of Habsburg, *Queen* of Bohemia, *Queen* of Hungary, *Queen* of Dalmatia (present-day Province of Croatia), *Queen* of Croatia, *Queen* of Slavonia (present-day Province of Croatia), *Archduchess* of Austria, *Grand Princess* of Transylvania, *Princess* of Swabia, *Duchess* of Burgundy, *Duchess* of Lothier (Lothier or Lotharingia or Ancient Lorraine), *Duchess* of Brabant, *Duchess* of Limburg, *Duchess* of Luxembourg, *Duchess* of Gelderland, *Duchess* of Upper Silesia, *Duchess* of Lower Silesia, *Duchess* of Milan, *Duchess* of Mantua, *Duchess* of Parma, *Duchess* of Piacenza, *Duchess* of Guastalla, *Margravine* (Marchioness) of Moravia, *Margravine* of the Holy Roman Empire, *Margravine* of Burgau, *Margravine* of Upper Lusatia, *Margravine* of Lower Lusatia, *Countess* of Habsburg, *Countess* of Flanders, *Countess* of Tyrol, *Countess* of Hainaut, *Countess* of Kyburg (now Switzerland), *Countess* of Gorice (now in Northern Italy), *Countess* of Gradisca (Northern Italy), *Countess* of Namur, *Lady* of Mechelen, *Lady* of the Windicated Walk (present-day region of Slovenia).

PROLEGOMENES

A Continent on Edge

"Wars, simple commercial games for financiers, remain the despair of peoples: for there are two kinds of participants—those who die, and those who get rich." – Contemporary pamphlet.[1]

The mid-eighteenth century was an age of fragile peace[2], when commercial greed, colonial and religious rivalry, and dynastic ambition threatened to plunge Europe and its empires into recurrent war. *The War of the Austrian Succession*, fought between 1740 and 1748, was not a single conflict but the convergence of multiple disputes : a dynastic crisis within *the Holy Roman Empire*, a colonial trade war between Britain and Spain, and the shifting *Balance of Power* among France, Austria, and Prussia.

It was a war in which *France triumphed on the battlefield yet squandered its gains at the negotiating table*; a war in which England, militarily humiliated, nonetheless emerged diplomatically intact; and a war that introduced a new European great power —Prussia.

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[1] *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1750s).

[2] In fact, the entire 18th century was poisoned by endless wars : the War of the Spanish Succession, 1701–1714 → the War of the Asiento de Negros, 1739–1740 → the War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748 → the Seven Years' War, 1756–1763 → the American War of Independence, 1778–1783 → the War of Slavery and the War of the French Revolution, 1792–1802). One struggle bled into the next, as if Britain, drunk on gold and jealousy, could not lay down its arms for even a fleeting breath of peace.

The Ghost of the Holy Roman Empire

"The Holy Roman Empire was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire." – Voltaire[3].

In the middle of the eighteenth century, most German-speaking countries still formed a loose entity, a virtual empire known as the Holy Roman Empire. It traced its origins to the Frankish Empire created by Charlemagne with the aim of bringing back to the West the nerve center of the Roman Empire and Christianity, which had moved to Byzantium with the fall of Rome and its Western Empire. By 1740, the Holy Roman Empire remained a relic of Charlemagne's ambition to restore the Roman-Christian axis to the West. In 1740, its emperor was still elected by the various princes and bishops *electors*, but he had retained only theoretical power, especially since the Protestant Reformation had divided Europe into two zones of religious affinity and weakened the very fiber of this whole.

This Holy Roman Empire had once presented a constant threat to France, and successive French monarchs had, since then, set themselves the task of monitoring very closely the evolution of this loosely knit and disparate assemblage, in order to prevent it from reforming into a single centralized and threatening empire.

France had long regarded this Germanic mosaic with suspicion. Since Francis I, French monarchs feared that a revived Empire under Habsburg leadership might once again encircle their kingdom, as it had under Charles V. Louis XIV had waged the War

[3] Voltaire, *Essai sur l'histoire générale et sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (Geneva, 1756), bk. 18.

of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) precisely to break the union of the Austrian and Spanish Empires[4] *a dominion on which the sun did not set*. Such a union would have reconstituted the Empire of Charles V of Habsburg[5], which was dangerously encircling France, and had forced Francis I to make an alliance with the Ottoman Empire to threaten his enemies from the rear with the strategic aim of bringing some relief to France. Yet it is always perilous to seek help from a potential invader. The Turks had taken advantage of this to entrench Islam in a part of Europe.

The War of the Spanish Succession ended with the enthronement of a French Bourbon King on the Spanish throne. But in order to achieve its goals, exhausted France had to bribe England to abandon its allies in mid-war[6]. However, France never relaxed its vigilance. Austria remained powerful, bolstered by victories against the Ottomans and by its control of Hungary, Bohemia, and much of Italy.

To prevent a unified Germanic colossus from threatening its borders, France increasingly favored alliances with Protestant powers such as Prussia — exploiting divisions within the Empire itself. The politico-religious wars of the seventeenth century[7] had already served French strategy well, by fragmenting the Holy Roman Empire into hostile factions. The Protestant north opposed the Catholic south, which was based dominated by the Austrian Empire, whose monarch was, until the *War of the Austrian*

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[4] John B. Wolf, *Louis XIV* (New York: Norton, 1968), 661–74.

[5] Charles Quint for the French 1500-1558.

[6] Everywhere in these hereditary Habsburg states, the central power tried to establish German-speaking (*Schwabenzug*) colonization zones, in Banat, Sathmar, Batschka, and elsewhere, in the hope that one day all of these hereditary states would be linguistically unified. It was on these areas of colonization [e.g., *the Sudetenland* in Slovakia, the *Siebenbürgen* in Transylvania, the minorities of Poland, Romania, and elsewhere] that Hitler relied on to annex the rest of the country.

[7] The Thirty Years' War and the War of the League of Augsburg.

Succession, the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Austria was staunchly Catholic, yet its very strength could ultimately threaten France's security in Europe. Thus, when the Hohenzollerns of Prussia, a rising dynasty of the Holy Roman Empire, expressed their resolution to constitute themselves as a major power, France swiftly accepted their alliance, above all to divide Germanic forces in a lasting way. Every monarch of Europe sensed that, if united, the German states would form a formidable and nearly invulnerable power.

It is therefore striking to note that, from 1870 onwards, when by violence Bismarck succeeded in compelling almost all the Germanic states to rally, to regroup under the spiked helmet of the Hohenzollern Empire in order to create the Second Reich, England itself, frightened, came to the side of its traditional enemy, France, so that the latter may serve as both glacis and bastion for Britain.

II. Britain's Slaving War: The War of Jenkins' Ear

"These words and the presentation of his ear, wrapped in cotton, aroused the holy indignation of Parliament." – Parliamentary record, 1738.[8]

Even before the main dynastic crisis erupted in Vienna in 1741, London Merchant Lobbies had embroiled Britain in another war, the *Guerra del Asiento de Negros*. In 1739, Britain declared war on Spain, a war that English historians, with studied frivolity, precisely labeled The *War of Jenkins' Ear.* The name itself was designed to diminish the conflict's historical and economic

[8] William Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole*, 3 vols. (London: Cadell and Davies, 1798), II: 312.

significance, and to soften the sting of the humiliations suffered by Britain's army, obscuring the reverses of this nation[9].

Yet the War of Jenkins' Ear [1739] was far from trivial. At its core lay the ***Asiento de Negros*** —the monopoly over the transatlantic slave trade to Spanish America, granted to Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713)[10]. As the *thirty-year monopoly on slavery* approached its expiration, British merchants of the *South Sea Company*[11] pressed for renewal. Their record, however, was one of systematic fraud : widespread smuggling, falsified accounts, and evasion of Spanish taxation— practices that inevitably provoked vigorous Spanish reprisals.

What remained was to find, or rather to fabricate, a pretext for war. In Parliament, merchants and their political allies inflamed public opinion with lurid tales of Spanish cruelty The most theatrical moment came when Captain Robert Jenkins appeared before the House of Commons, brandishing his severed ear and alleging mutilation at the hands of Spanish Coast Guards[12]. Though the incident had occurred years earlier, this act was seized upon as a pretext for a war already desired by Britain's commercial Lobbies[13].

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[9] As we saw again in 1743 in the Battle of Dettingen and in the desertion of Dunkirk in 1940.

[10] Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Articles X and XIII. At the request of the French, Spain granted England this economic advantage as a bribe to induce the latter to abandon its allies on the battlefield, thus enabling the French to impose a Bourbon King in Spain. See *Diplomacy in the War of the Spanish Succession*, ISBN 978-1-6781-5364-9

[11] The *South Sea Company* was a slaving company founded at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession in England by Robert Harley, leader of the Tory party. The English government entrusted him with the monopoly of the slave trade with the Spanish colonies

[12] Testimony of Captain Robert Jenkins before the House of Commons, March 1738, *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. 23.

[13] The merchant lobbies of London were organized into a veritable royal administration which bore the name of *the Council of Foreign Trade and Plantations*. This organization was created by the Crown of England in 1696. It was made up of *non-salaried ex-officio* Commissionaires who were not required to attend regular meetings, and eight paid

The *South Sea Co*., also defrauded the one and only *annual vessel* known as "*of permission*" [*navío de permiso*], loaded with general merchandise, which the English had the right to sell on the Spanish colonial market. But this annual *only vessel* was constantly resupplied by a fleet of smugglers of the *South Sea Co*. British slave traders violated too the rules of the Asiento. They were required to pay a tax to Spain on every slave imported into South America, but the calculations were systematically falsified.

As a result of the Asiento de Negros nearing its expiration, the British Government, dogged and determined, wanted to force Spain to renew this monopoly of slavery and even (why not) to extend it to general goods. Blinded by all these fantasies that had already led to an economic crisis[14] in London in 1720, the resolute and persistent English merchant Lobbies were ready to fight to the very last soldier to wrest these economic advantages from Spain.

To complicate economic relations between Spain and England, some English merchants began illicitly loading precious wood in Campeche and other parts of the Gulf of Mexico, without paying taxes to Spain. To counter these abuses, Madrid deployed several warships devoted to coastal surveillance and the fight against English smuggling. This perfectly legitimate Spanish response provoked the *War of Jenkins Ear,* as the British

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Commissionaires who directed the British Government's commercial strategy for the benefit of the merchant lobbies. The most senior paid commissioner was called the *First Lord* and chaired the entire Council. The Commissionaires *ex-officio* consisted of an aristocrat who could thus influence the House of Lords. He could be the Lord Chancellor (lord means lord) or the Lord Keeper, the Lord President of the Council, the Lord of the Privy Seal, the Lord Treasurer or First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Admiral or First Lord of the Admiralty, Secretary of State and Chancellor of the Exchequer. They were joined by the Bishop of London in 1702 and the Surveyor and Auditor General of Plantations in 1721.

[14] . This company was the object of a speculative madness that ended with a stock market bubble (The South Sea Bubble) that deflated during *the Crash of 1720*, leading to thousands of bankruptcies. Voltaire, that paragon of Enlightenment virtue, happily pocketed profits (and losses) from this British slave-trading enterprise.

government —dominated by commercial lobbies— sought to protect its merchants regardless of their misconduct, just as it would later do in the Opium Wars against China in the 1840s and 1860s.

The English historian Coxe treats in his work the indelicacy and misconduct of the merchants as little more than a joke to be treated with indulgence, carefully avoiding mention of the fact that the real issue was the slave trade. He writes: "At length, British merchants began to regard this trade as an undeniable right, not a favour. They were no longer willing to give up so profitable a branch of commerce, which many of them pursued openly and boldly. Their ships continually entered Spanish ports under the pretext of repairs or supplies, and in many cases exchanged their goods almost publicly."

In the House of Commons in London, the merchant lobbies were already advocating war as early as February 3, 1738. A pretext was promptly devised. We may call it a "*pretext*" since the English historian William Coxe himself described[15] it as a "lie fabricated."

On March 3, 1738, the Parliamentary Opposition began its offensive seeking a *casus belli* that would not appear too obviously contrived for the needs of the cause. Let us hear William Coxe explained how merchants forged a seemingly plausible pretext, at least in the eyes of an easily swayed public. One cannot help recalling President George Walker Bush who, in order to seize oil, launched the war against Iraq in 2003 by unjustly accusing that country of preparing *weapons of mass destruction* against Israel.

In London, "a petition prepared with great art and aggressiveness, by various merchants, planters, and others, engaged in trade with the British Plantations in America, and interested in that activity, was presented to the House by the elected Perry; he recapitulated all the events that had occurred in consequence of the

[15] In his *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole*, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, London, 1816. p.13 ff.

previous applications, and declared that the Spaniards persisted in their depredations, to a point never before attained[16]." Thus, the first step was taken.

During the debate in both English Houses, "many facts were brought up by the members of this party [of the Tory Opposition], which should have been reserved for the Cabinet of Ministers. The ministry, having quickly discovered the means by which they had come into possession of these facts [through the Merchant Lobbies], complained of its imprudence[17]."

Despite this, the pro-war campaign gathered momentum. Deputies and senators were daily besieged with petitions and lurid accounts of "the inhumanities committed on English prisoners captured aboard merchant ships. [These writings] described the captives as not only insulted and robbed, but forced to labour in Spanish shipyards and on fortifications, shackled in irons, surviving on foul food, infested with vermin, frequently tortured and confined in pit-like dungeons[18]."

Several captains and sailors were examined at the bar of the Chamber. Had their testimony been entirely credible, the facts would have appeared beyond dispute. Yet Robert Coxe reminds us that "the evidence provided by these witnesses must be considered questionable. *They did not testify under oath*, nor were their statements *weighed against testimonies in favour of the Spaniards.*[19]"

According to this historian (Coxe), all these unsworn witnesses — never subjected to the slightest cross-examination or investigative contradiction— "were led to exaggerate their wounds, for their own benefit and in the hope of obtaining compensation. They realized that it was highly prized to rant against the Spaniards,

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[16] Sir Robert Walpole, par Coxe, William. chap.51, p.43.

[17] Named SAN-ANTONIO, commanded by Captain Juan Francisco de Leon Fandino.

[18] This information, quoted by Coxe, came from *the Gentleman's Magazine* of 1731. Craftsman.

[19] Richard Harding, *Amphibious Warfare in the Eighteenth Century: The British Expedition to the West Indies, 1740–1742* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), 201–15.

and they were encouraged to make their horror stories even more horrifying. They were led to believe that if they could substantiate their allegations, the Minister who had cowardly agreed to suffer such oppression would be dismissed, and that his successor would act with such vigor that he would force the King of Spain to compensate them for their losses and sufferings[20]."

During the Parliamentary Inquiry, held ostensibly in the House of Commons, to elucidate the causes of English discontent, in reality to invent a *casus belli*, "the captains and sailors who appeared at the bar of the House, delivered the most exaggerated testimonies of the insults inflicted upon them by the Spaniards. Many reported the most incredible horror tales, which were utterly believed, almost in proportion to their absurdity. Among those who were examined, and whose account seemed to leave the deepest impression, was a certain Robert Jenkins. This man was the skipper of the merchant ship*, the REBECCA*. He had left Jamaica at the beginning of 1731 [*i.e.* 7 years earlier]. Off Havana, he was boarded by a small Spanish Coast Guard sloop and treated, so it was claimed, with much insult and indignity. In the account which was published at that time by Opposition pamphlets and newspapers, the Spanish captain tortured the crew, hanged Jenkins three times —once with the cabin boy at his feet—, and finally cut off one of his ears, bidding him carry it to his King. On his return to England, Jenkins was said to have presented his case to the monarch. As compensation for his alleged sufferings —or perhaps to appease his anger— he was appointed captain of an East Indiaman[21]."

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[20] Sir Robert Walpole, by William Coxe, chap.51, p.32 ff

[21] The East Indiamen were large ships of the British East India Co. intended not only to transport goods and passengers but also to defend themselves. *Sir Robert Walpole,* by Coxe, William. chap.51, p.41. This text was stated by Tindal at the London Parliament. «They represented these prisoners as not only insulted and pillaged, but compelled to work in the Spanish dock yards and fortifications, loaded with irons, subsisting upon

These depositions, so carefully orchestrated by the pro-war faction, were deemed totally intolerable and proved to be the last straw that broke the camel's back for the lobbying interests and all the zealots pressing for war with Spain. As a result, the Committee recommended the opening of hostilities. The English Government considered that this was indeed an obvious *casus belli* and, in October 1739, declared war on Spain without delay.

A comment by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Marquis d'Argenson, in November 1738, reveals the extent to which English behavior and motives betrayed the true aims of this war:

"*The English see their concession of* the vessel of permission *to the South Sea ready to expire in five years, and then there would be a great void in their trade and in their national debts, several of which have been placed on* the *South Sea Company. If Sir Robert Walpole obtains the renewal of this lucrative privilege for thirty more* years*, in return for the aid which England will give to Spain to reconquer the parts of Italy of which I speak, during the absence of the imperial forces, what praise to Walpole, what satisfaction for all these greedy Englishmen! And how else can we explain these* enormous expenses of England *for her fleets, to accommodate the affairs of America rather mediocrely, spending ten times more to obtain indemnity than the indemnity itself will be worth*[22] *?*"

The testimony of the witnesses before the English Parliament had the desired effect. "These words and the display of his

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loathsome provisions, and overrun with vermin, frequently tortured and imprisoned in dungeons.»

[22] Memoirs and unpublished journal of the Marquis d'Argenson, Minister of Foreign Affairs under Louis XV, published and annotated by M. le Marquis d'Argenson, Vol. II, Chez P.Jannet, Paris, 1858. p.33, November 1738. The highlighted segments (italics) were not highlighted in the original text.

ear, which, wrapped in cotton, he always carried about, filled the House with indignation[23]."

The strategy of the London lobbies in the 1730s may be compared to that of the same lobbies which, two centuries later, between 1914 and 1922, engineered the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in order to seize its oil-producing regions. In the early eighteenth century, the slave trade held an economic importance comparable to that of oil in the early twentieth. Likewise, the Spanish Empire in the eighteenth century embodied a state of decomposition not unlike that of the Ottoman Empire at the dawn of the twentieth. But the parallel must end there: Spain, for all its decline, remained strong enough to put England out of action.

So the *War of Slavery* began. The governor of the English colony of Georgia, James Edward Oglethorpe, seized the opportunity created by wartime disorder to extend his frontier at the expense of the Spanish colony of Florida. He launched a campaign to recruit volunteers in Georgia and South Carolina to build an invading army. The incursion was launched, but the Spanish swiftly intercepted and repelled it. And, to the great astonishment of English colonists in these regions, a Spanish squadron soon retaliated with with destructive raids against coastal villages of Georgia and the Carolinas. Shocked by such audacity from an empire they had deemed moribund, colonists and mercantile lobbies clamored for vengeance and retaliations for these reprisals. But Oglethorpe, chastened by failure, proceeded with greater caution this time.

Meanwhile, in the Caribbean, clashes between Spanish and English ships rapidly escalated. The only substantial naval expedition was mounted by the governor of Jamaica, who first sought to "insult" Cuba and Panama, before launching a full-scale assault on Cartagena[24]. Infantry were landed, and a pitched battle ensued. Soldiers from the Thirteen American Colonies joined a small

[23] Sir Robert Wakpole, bu Coxe, chap.51, p.41 ff.
[24] Capital of the Spanish colony of New Granada

contingent from England —though command, in monarchical fashion, was reserved for courtiers dispatched from London. The *Battle of Cartagena*[25], fought during the siege of that city[26], was a decisive victory for the Spanish army over the British. It allowed the Spanish empire to definitively abort the aggression against its South American colonies. The Royal Navy, rooted and bloodied, retreated precipitously to Jamaica after dropping off its few surviving infantrymen in Georgia and the Carolinas.

This war was a complete disaster for England: only 600 of the 3000 English soldiers raised in the Thirteen Colonies survived ill-prepared and poorly organized assaults, tropical diseases, and quarrels between British leaders who all wished to shine and predominate in the ladder of command. Personality conflicts between warlords are often more deadly than the enemy's projectiles.

England's honour was even doubly affected because its war chiefs had had the bad idea of prematurely announcing several victories that had turned out to be defeats, so that, in London, commemorative medals had been struck by the King who had also organized triumphal celebrations at great expense.

III. The Succession of Austria Crisis: Death of Charles VI

"The Pragmatic Sanction was written in ink; Frederick rewrote it in blood." – Austrian memoirist.[27]

Thus, fortunately for England, the male line of the House of Austria became extinct in October 1740 with the death of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles VI of Habsburg.

Before his death, Charles VI —conscious of having no male heir— had painstakingly labored for years to secure

[25] In Colombia.
[26] The siege lasted from March to May 1741.
[27] Count Khevenhüller-Metsch, *Diarium Politicum*, vol. 9 (Vienna: 1741).

recognition of his *Pragmatic Sanction*[28] ,which designated his daughter Maria Theresa as successor, not only to the hereditary dominions that would later form the Austrian Empire, but also, by extension, to leadership within the Holy Roman Empire[29].

Yet scarcely had the ink dried on this solemn decree before rivals rose to challenge Maria Theresa's rights.

Britain: Incorrigible to the end when profit was at stake, the London merchant Lobbies saw in it a chance to recover their spirit and raise their head once more and revive their waning influence. The death of Charles VI of Habsburg in 1740 opened up a new prospect of war that would allow them, this time perhaps, to wrest the *Asiento de Negros* from Spain for another thirty years. With this in mind, England secretly financed hostilities against France by subsidies to Austria and her allies

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[28] The *Pragmatic Sanction* is a formal *decree* issued by a sovereign on a matter of great importance, often dealing with constitutional or dynastic succession questions. The most famous one in European history is the *Pragmatic Sanction of 1713*, issued by Emperor *Charles VI of the Holy Roman Empire*. Charles VI, of the Habsburg dynasty, had no male heir. To ensure that his hereditary lands (Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and others) would remain united under one ruler, he declared that his daughters could inherit the throne in the absence of sons. This decree was necessary because traditional succession laws (the *Salic law*) excluded women from inheriting.

[29] It was Napoleon I who put an end to **the** Holy Roman Empire *in 1804* by creating the *Confederation of the Rhine*. In compensation, the hereditary estates, which were personally owned by the ruling Habsburg-Lorraine family, were erected into the ***Austrian Empire***. As for the last emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Francis II of Habsburg-Lorraine, he became, at the behest of Napoleon, the first emperor of the Austrian Empire, under the name of Francis I of Austria. In 1867, Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria was crowned King of Hungary. The Austrian Empire thus became the *Austrian-Hungarian Empire*, which lasted until 1918, the end of the First World War or the War of the Six Empires. Four empires collapsed: the Russian Romanov Empire, the German Hohenzollern Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Habsburg-Lorraine Empire, and the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the First World War, only the French Empire and the English Empire remained.

Frederick II of ***Prussia*** acted first with characteristic audacity. He saw in it an excellent pretext to take advantage of a woman. In December 1740, he launched a blitzkrieg invasion of **Silesia**, Austria's richest province.[30] His aims were not merely territorial. By seizing Silesia's thriving mines and industries, Frederick intended to propel Prussia into the rank of Europe's great power.

Charles Albert of ***Bavaria***, married to the daughter of Emperor Joseph I, claimed the imperial crown for himself.[31]

France, determined to curb Habsburg threatening dominance, allied with Prussia and Bavaria, hoping to install a Francophile emperor on the throne.

France, Prussia, the United Provinces, Spain, Saxony, Poland, Russia, Sardinia, most of the German states of the Holy Roman Empire, and even England had officially accepted the principle of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, sometimes with a great deal of gifts : thus, for its approval, Spain had received the Two Sicilies[32] and France, the Duchy of Lorraine[33]

George II of England, for his part, had no power in the face of the English Parliament, which was entirely subservient to the

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[30] Frederick II, *Histoire de mon temps* (Berlin: 1751), 88–92.

[31] M. S. Anderson, *The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748* (London: Longman, 1995), 44–50.

[32] The Two Sicilies included Sicily proper and southern Italy.

[33] In fact, Louis XIV had occupied Lorraine in 1670. It had regained its independence by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, and had thus been returned to Duke Leopold. His son François III of Lorraine ceded his rights to the Duchy of Lorraine to the Pole Stanisław Leszczynski, who became in 1766 the father-in-law of Louis XV. Stanislaus therefore settled in Lunéville after being driven out of Poland. Francis III of Lorraine, on the other hand, married Maria Theresa of Austria of Habsburg in 1736, and thus became the founder of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine. On the death of Stanislas Leszczynski in 1766, Lorraine became French again through the marriage of Stanislas' daughter to Louis XV. The former Duke of Lorraine, Francis III, had been compensated for this in receuving the Grand-Duchy of Toscane. So, it was not a present but a conquest.

London merchant Lobbies and High Finance. As in the twenty-first century in England and, above all, in the United States, democracy in eighteenth-century Britain was effectively confiscated from the people through the quiet infiltration of Parliament by commercial and financial lobbies[34]. The Prime Minister himself[35] was a wealthy bourgeois, and therefore ennobled by fortune and title, and closely allied with merchant interests. English policy was therefore shaped less by principle than by pragmatism and efficiency.

England's strategy during this War of the Austrian Succession, as throughout its history, was to try to exploit all the land force of its allies in order to tip the continental balance of power in its own favor. It was necessary to shift the balance of military forces to the side of England, policy that the English called the *"balance of power"*. England itself was only a middling land power in Europe, and thus relied on what it termed the *balance of power* policy. According to this plan, the continental war was regarded merely as a diversion —*in the military sense*— a secondary theater intended to occupy France, to draw France's attention elsewhere while Britain concentrated its main efforts on regaining control of the slave trade and, later, French colonies overseas. Maria Theresa's armies were to hold French forces occupied in Europe.

Yet the opening of the war brought an unforeseen revelation to the courts of Europe: Frederick II of Prussia of the House of Hohenzollern[36] proved himself a military genius.

In December 1740, Prussian troops occupied Austrian Silesia in a kind of *blitzkrieg* campaign *avant la lettre*. The Austrian

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[34] The French fared no better in the 21st century; special tribunals, steeped in left-wing wokist ideology, annulled the laws and overturned the will of the people, setting themselves in defiance of the National Assembly. Democracy is lost, today.

[35] Thomas Pelham-Holles, Ist duke of Newcastle (1693-1763) was Premier of Britain from 1754 to 1756, then from 1757 to 1762.

[36] The Hohenzollerns had become hereditary princes of Nuremberg in 1208, then electors of Brandenburg in 1417, kings of Prussia in 1701, and German emperors in 1871. At the end of the First World War, the imperial family abdicated and took refuge in the Netherlands.

army, which was heavier to prepare, was decisively defeated by the Prussians at the Battle of Mollwitz on 10 April 1741, and again on 17 May 1742 at the Battle of Chotusitz [or Chotusice, in Moravia]. In 1741, the Franco-Bavarians crossed the Rhine, invaded part of Austria and then Bohemia. In Prague, the French crowned their loyal ally, *Charles Albert of Bavaria*, King of Bohemia, and in January 1742, he *was elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire under the name of Charles VII*. In a supreme effort, Austria succeeded in repelling the Franco-Bavarian invaders and even invaded Bavaria.

The English, who, by virtue of their subsidies, were the *de facto* allies of Austria, even if they were reluctant to declare war on France[37] and Prussia; Britain not only did not intervene materially to relieve their Austrian allies, but seeing the remarkable strength of Prussia, the English made secret contact with their Prussian enemy, and then negotiated surreptitiously with their Austrian ally to induce Maria Theresa of Austria to give up her province of Silesia to the Prussian in order to *buy peace* from Frederick II (Treaty of Berlin on 28 July 1742). England also let Austria to face one major enemy, France. The British therefore did not feel an immediate need to intervene directly on the battlefields, beyond supplying their allies with offering German mercenary regiments. For a long time, England dragged its feet in making a genuine military contribution of *human material* to the coalition. The Austrians, bound to Britain by military treaties of alliance, had to put pressure on the King of England into finally landing with an army[38].

The first battle fought by the English army on the European continent was the *Battle of Dettingen*, in June 1743 —i.e. three years after the outbreak of hostilities. Similarly, at the beginning of the *Seven Years' War*, London was once again urged to come

[37] Despite their acts of hostility, the English stubbornly refused to declare war on France. It was necessary for the French to declare it to them on March 15, 1744.
[38] Just as during the two World Wars of the 20th century, the French kept pressing the English to provide an army large enough.

help on the battlefields in ways other than simply subsidizing its continental allies, Prussia[39], while the British concentrated their efforts against the French colonies

The English "*good offices*" had the following effect : *discouraged by her defeats and by the attitude of her ally, Maria Theresa of Austria signed a separate peace with Frederick II of Prussia* in June 1742, ceding Silesia and the Bohemian County of Glatz to him. Abandoned by their Prussian allies, the French suddenly found themselves fighting alone against the Austrian and Hungarian imperial troops, and they had to abandon Prague. It was a strange, if not irrational, situation for the French who were waging war in vain.

Alarmed by the turn of events, the United Provinces voted extraordinary credits at the beginning of the war to increase the size of their army. Yet, aware that they lay directly exposed to French forces, they remained cautious and inactive — as did the English[40], despite their official support for Maria Theresa in the form of subsidies.

At the beginning of 1742, finally, the King of England, increasingly anxious for his Hanoverian possessions —the source of his most reliable troops—, sought to persuade the Dutch to declare war on France, invoking the provisions of a treaty of defensive mutual aid between the two Maritime Powers. The Dutch, who were not unaware that their country was going to serve as a battlefield for the French, hesitated, refusing to provoke the latter. The defensive treaty of mutual aid implied that England had to be attacked; but it was not. Then, in order to drag them into the war by force, the English landed their own national contingent of only 16,000

[39] In fact, England subsidized ALL its allies, partly to silence criticism of its non-direct intervention.
[40] Government Walpole.

men[41] at Ostend in May 1742, without asking any permission from Holland, and without any declaration of war against France[42]. These troops went to reinforce the garrisons of the *Fortresses of Ceinture,* which constituted *the Barrier*[43], in Flanders. This was done by the British *to attract the French into the Low Countries and divert them from Hanover*, personal possession of the King of England.

Then, in March 1745, France declared war on the United Provinces. The following month, the French army began to invade the Austrian Netherlands [present-day Belgium] and to besiege the fortresses which were taken one after the other. To aggravate the already very confused situation, the new Francophile Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Charles VII[44], died prematurely on January 20, 1745. His successor on the throne of Bavaria, Maximilian Joseph de Wittelsbach, made peace with Maria Theresa, withdrew the Bavarian troops from the conflict, and renounced the succession to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire, leaving the field open to Maria Theresa's husband, Francis of Lorraine.

The Pragmatic Army[45] of 90,000 men, which included the entire Anglo-Austro-Dutch army under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, worked unsuccessfully to lift the sieges of the

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[41] The English army was composed of 3500 English and Welsh soldiers, 5000 Scots, 5000 Irish and the rest German mercenaries stationed in Great Britain. The latter number was always low because the English were suspicious of the Germans. On the other hand, the first three kings George, of German origin, may have felt safer; in case.

[42] In fact, this war without a declaration of war lasted until the spring of 1744, when Louis XV, tired of seeing this English army threaten the north of France, declared war on England.

[43] The Barrier was the name of the line of defense of the United Provinces. This barrier was made up of fortresses located in the present territory of Belgium, which was called in the seventeenth century the *Austrian Netherlands*. The double garrisons were Austrian and Dutch.

[44] Charles Albert de Wittelsbach was born in Brussels on 6 August 1697. He became prince of Bavaria, King of Bohemia, and in January 1742, he had been elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire under the name of Charles VII. He died in Munich on January 20, 1745 at the age of 48.

[45] Called so because it supported the *Pragmatic Sanction.*

Barrier's fortresses by the French. The Dutch, dragged into the war in spite of themselves, found their country in an unfortunate position. There was general indignation in the Netherlands against England. The situation of the Anglo-Allied army quickly became catastrophic. The French first defeated them at the *Battle of Dettingen* on 27 June 1743. There the King of England allowed himself to be surprised with his army in a mousetrap formed by the River Main and a marshy area. He thought he was going to suffer the humiliation of capture. Fortunately, night fell, and the English army was able to flee under cover of darkness, with such precipitation, however, that it abandoned two of its artillery pieces on the battlefield and especially 600 wounded. King George recommended to the French general-in-chief to take care of the latter[46]. The French treated them in their field hospitals. But the alarm had been sounded. The King of England therefore gave up following his army in the field[47], and returned to England, abandoning his soldiers to his son, the Duke of Cumberland. However, he officially claimed victory in order to conceal this humiliation. He had indeed managed to escape.

At sea, too, the war went badly for the Royal Navy. It suffered a defeat at the *Battle of Toulon* on 27 June 1743, after which Admiral Matthews was court-martialed and forced into retirement. The stubborn god of Victory continued to favor the French at the *naval battle of Negapatam* in the East Indies on 6-7 July 1746. As for the two *battles of Cape Finisterre* [3 May and 14 October 1747], in both instances the French escorts were sacrificed, but the convoys they protected successfully broke through. Consequently, each navy claimed victory.

On land, the situation was worsening in Flanders. The English suffered successive serious defeats. After Dettingen, there

[46] In a letter left in the hands of a wounded officer.
[47] To mimic Louis XV.

was the *Battle of Fontenoy*[48], then the *Battle of Rocoux*[49], and finally that of *Lawfeldt*[50]. George II of England could no longer even feign victory in front of his people, because there were Scottish and Irish contingents in the French army who could testify to the truth in Britain. In Acadia, at the *Battle of Grand-Pré*, from February 10 to 12, 1747, 300 Canadian "commandos"[51], Acadians and Amerindians attacked and captured the large English garrison of Grand-Pré, which totaled 700 professional soldiers.

Everywhere it was only setbacks for England, except on Cape Breton Island, where the fortress of Louisbourg, badly defended by a battalion of Swiss mercenaries who had not received their pay, refused with some reason to resist[52]. But it is in such tragic moments that the English genius awakens. Defeated on the battlefields, Great Britain was literally going to invent a solution that would save not only face but above all most of the advantages.

In Britain, the merchant Lobbies, usually ready to fight to the last Highlander or hireling from Hesse (German mercenary), at last realized they had backed the wrong horse by tying England's fortunes to Austria. Suddenly, the need and urgency of salvaging what could still be saved became clear. Determined not to share the fate of the vanquished, and fearing the loss of colonies at the close of a disastrous war, England began *secret negotiations for an arrangement with France, unbeknownst to its allies*. It was a replay of its maneuvers during the previous War of the Spanish Succession, when it had likewise sought an *honorable* way out. These clandestine negotiations culminated in the signing of *the*

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[48] May 11, 1745.
[49] October 11, 1746.
[50] July 2, 1747.
[51] Purists forgive me for this anachronism. The term *commando* conveys a better reality. In these times, *free-fighters* or *light infantry* units of the French Army were called *Les Grassins, les La Morlière* (names of their chief) and *Les Cantabres* (light infantry from the Basque Country).
[52] The siege lasted from 30 April to 7 June 1745. The Louisbourg fortress was exchanged at the end of the war for the stronghold of Madras which the French had taken in September 1746 in India.

Preliminaries of Peace[53] at Aix-la-Chapelle on 30 April 1748. Thus, by breaking ranks and dissociating itself from its Austrian ally, England managed to slip away unscathed from a war it had, in truth, lost on battlefields.

Traumatized by the unsuspected power of Prussia and by the equivocal role of England, which had encouraged her [Maria Theresa] to surrender her beloved Silesia to Prussia — unknowingly doing so, solely in order to reconcile England with Prussia, Maria Theresa of Austria sought to reconcile her country with France through Madame de Pompadour, whom she knew how to flatter, while Frederick the Great of Prussia openly despised the mistress and the King Louis XV himself.

Aix-la-Chapelle [*Aache*n in German], which was in neutral territory, was chosen as the official meeting point for the plenipotentiaries of all the belligerent countries. Prussia, which had settled its diplomatic affairs separately with Austria, through the intermediary of England, took no part in it. In fact, the official Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle was only a façade and served only to facilitate the secret negotiations of England, which discreetly approached the French plenipotentiary. Maria Theresa of Austria soon realized that, in spite of the secret negotiations she was also conducting with France, she was not up to the level of the English plenipotentiary; as a result, she found herself mystified by her English ally.

The outcome was that, in the opinion of the Duke de Broglie himself[54], the publication of the *Preliminary Treaty of Peace* was "*a day of dupes*," the role of the dupes being involuntarily played by the Austrians. England played with genius the role of the *duper*, a function that Prussia had played a few months earlier with France by abandoning the latter on the battlefields. England was absolutely anxious to get out of this hopeless war which was

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[53] The complete text of the Preliminaries, as well as that of the Final Treaty of Aachen, are appended to this work.

[54] Jacques-Victor-Albert, 4th Duke of Broglie, *La Paix d'Aix-la-Chapelle*, Calmann Lévy Publisher, Paris, 1895.

ruining her and bringing her nothing but defeats. As a result, England asked France for only two minor points: the banishment of the Catholic pretender (dynasty of the Stuarts), who lived in France[55], and the destruction of some fortifications in Dunkirk, on the maritime side only, while specifying that this second request was incidental and subsidiary. In fact, the two clauses were mere trifling pretexts, impossible for the French to refuse, yet carefully designed to persuade English public opinion that its government was making peace only because it had secured its demands. It was just a smokescreen.

As far as Spain was concerned, and in spite of the victory of France, which had won the War of the Austrian Succession, Madame de Pompadour and Louis XV not only forced their Spanish ally, in an absurd concern for *appeasement*, to prolong this humiliating *Asiento de Negros* in favour of England[56] but also refused to derive the slightest advantage for France. Thousands of French and Canadian soldiers had died unnecessarily, because this war, won by the French for the benefit of the King of Prussia[57], brought nothing to France, except its involvement in the next war, the *Seven Years' War*, which was disastrous for the Canadians. And England, which had been able to tack in order not to pay the price of its defeat at the end of the War of the Austrian Succession, was going to unceremoniously demand the maximum from France at the end of the Seven Years' War, when, having this time bet on the right allied horse (Prussia), it would be in a position of strength.

For a long time, the motives of Madame de Pompadour and her royal lover Louis XV in their haste to put an end to this war that the French had won, and to renounce the advantages they

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[55] Stuart claimed the throne of England and Scotland.

[56] Spain was later able to buy back this Slavery right for £100,000.

[57] Today, the French idiom **« travailler pour le roi de Prusse »** (literally, *to work for the King of Prussia*) means *to work for nothing, to work without any reward or benefit*. In English, you could render it with several equivalents, depending on context: **"to work for nothing** or **to work for peanuts"** (more colloquial)

could derive from their victory, have long been debated. Louis XV's eagerness to "botch" the war surprised everyone. "*It is astonishing to the supreme degree to see France's impatience*[58]*... to emerge from the present war, at a time when it finds itself in a situation that could hardly fail to promise it many favorable successes by continuing that same war. It seems to me that this country might well calm itself more than it does regarding the present state of its affairs, above all avoiding any display of weakness... and if it behaved in this way, its role would only chine all the more brilliantly, and it would be certain to make peace on its own terms, seeing its wishes accomplished*."

In a singular contrast, the merchant class that ruled England became considerably richer from the war, but systematically refused to raise taxes in order to fill the financial abyss in which the English Treasury was plunged[59]. One cannot fail to draw a comparison with the United States of President Bush, whose war in Iraq has dramatically enriched the President and Vice-President Cheney, but who at the same time was heavily increasing the National Debt. And it was the taxpayers who had to repay it. Thus, the lay people paid with their blood and their money.

As in the Anglo-Allied camp, chicanes raged, on the French side, invectives and insults did not fail to give a glimpse that the Franco-Prussian alliance would break down at the end of this war: "*France is in the hands of idiots and ignoramuses, whose talent lies only in mismanaging the advantages they possess*," commented[60] the King of Prussia, Frederick the Great, in front of witnesses, speaking of his allies Louis XV and Madame de Pompadour. The French King learned of this, of course, took offence and replied that Frederick of Hohenzollern, for his part, "*blew fire*

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[58] Wrote Frederick of Prussia to Chambrier in a letter of April 6, 1748, *Political Correspondence,* vol. VI, pp. 74 and 89.

[59] By maintaining the troops and subsidizing his allies.

[60] Quoted by the Duc de Broglie on page 245 of *The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*, see in fine.

and fished in troubled waters." The King of Prussia did indeed acquire this reputation at the time, within the various courts of Europe. On hearing of this backbiting, he showed himself very hurt, so true is it that gossip peddlers are often the most susceptible. He complained loudly of this reputation, which covered him with opprobrium, and tried to exculpate himself from it. In fact, both Frederick II and Louis XV were very mortified by their respective reputations, for if Frederick was called "*the Great*" and Louis XV "*the Beloved*", the one was great only on the battlefield and the other *beloved* only in the very beginning of his reign, before being known by his people.

In the end, everyone was forced to submit and sign the peace treaty, with rage in their hearts, under the mocking eyes of Frederick of Prussia. The British cabinet reluctantly agreed to return Cape Breton Island to France. They wished, of course, to recover Madras (Chennai today), but at the same time to retain Louisbourg, the capital fortress of Cape Breton Island. Sitting comfortably in their London Rococo armchairs, politicians and lobbyists, not knowing at what end the British army[61] was, could hardly bring themselves to give up the slightest advantage. These same financiers were already contemplating the new war which could not fail to follow this one. On the other hand, the leaders of the French army foamed with irritation, for the bone of assured victory was torn from their mouths.

[61] For the Duke of Cumberland, the king's son, not only did not boast of being out of breath, of course, but he even tended to present a tactical situation that was less desperate than it really was.

Far from all the hassle of Aix-la-Chapelle, the English Governor of Nova Scotia, Lawrence[62], decided to "*solve*" the Acadian problem. Despite the promise made at the capitulation of Fort Beauséjour to *respect the population and property of the French Acadians*, the English governor judged it opportune to force the French colonists into total allegiance, failing which they would be annihilated. In July 1755 Acadian delegations were summoned to appear before *the Council of the British colony of Nova Scotia*. There, the delegates again refused to swear allegiance to England, but, as the sole compromise, agreed to declare themselves "*neutral*" in the event of war between France and England[63]. It was a touching gesture when we consider that Acadia was part of the "bribe"[64] of the War of the Spanish Succession. The Acadians then requested the renewal of the old oath that exempted them from military service against France. Lawrence refused and ordered the immediate arrest of the French deputies.

On the 28th, the Colonial Council secretly *decreed the ethnic cleansing of Acadia* by deportation of all French inhabitants to the English Thirteen Colonies in the South. *"We set out to get rid of one of the plagues of Egypt.*" wrote Winslow. Lawrence issued his orders to the commanders of the forts to gather the people *"by trickery or by force."* Families were locked up in forts, churches and prison camps while waiting for the arrival of transport ships. Villages, farms and even churches were burned.

But, like the Canadians, the Acadians were not submissive or even docile people. They had already proved it by their refusal to take the oath and swear allegiance to the King of England. A violent guerrilla war spread throughout Acadia. While the mass

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[62] Charles Lawrence, army officer, governor of Nova Scotia (born in England circa 1709; died at Halifax 19 October 1760). It was an ethnic cleansing.

[63] They did not want to become *Malgré-nous* as the French in Alsace-Lorraine were later to be.

[64] For the bribe, see: *Diplomacy in the War of the Spanish Succession*, ISBN 978-1-6781-5364-9

roundups unfolded, the great manhunt developed, the redcoats stormed villages, gathered the populations and forced them aboard ships. Thousands of Acadians were deported and their farm animals stolen.

"*To the Canadians who were threatened, in those terrible years of 1755, by the* [English] *conquest and its inevitable consequences*," concludes Quebec historian Guy Frégault, "*the Acadian example could teach what defeat necessarily means*[65]."

The War of the Austrian Succession thus ended. Francis III of Lorraine was recognized in 1745 as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, under the name of Francis I, and became the head of the new House of Austria, *the Habsburg-Lorraine*. France and Prussia had won the war, but England had succeeded by her intrigues in avoiding the fate of the vanquished. All the courts of Europe were astonished that France did not take advantage of its victories to demand more and not be satisfied with an empty shell. The English diplomats, for their part, could not believe that they had succeeded, through their genius for diplomatic intrigue, in playing their cards right. Once again, it could be said that the French soldiers, most often victorious on the battlefields, had lost all the benefits of this war through the incompetence of their diplomats and their King. Of the 66 *Franco-British land and naval battles* fought overall during the War of the Austrian Succession in all theaters of military operations, the French soldiers won 51 victories (more than 77%), and the English 18%. The French had also won the naval battles fought during this war: *Toulon, Negapatam*, and the two

[65] Decidedly influenced by the London lobbies, the English nation at that time embarked on an extremist course, for simultaneously an ethnic cleansing was being carried out against the Scots: The Highland Clearances or Ethnic Cleansing in Scotland took place from about 1750 to 1860 and continue to arouse emotions in Scotland and its diaspora worldwide. People were removed from land that had been inhabited by generations before them, often with brute force, changing the way of life and landscape irrevocably. The episode influences politics and policy to this day.

battles fought off *Cape Finisterre*[66]. In New France alone, the antagonists fought 12 *land* battles; the French won 10 of these victories [83.3 per cent] and the English only one[67].

Conclusion: An Unfinished Struggle

The War of the Austrian Succession settled little. It confirmed Maria Theresa on her throne, but at the price of concessions that embittered her for life. It elevated Prussia to the rank of a great power, setting the stage for its rivalry with Austria. *It revealed France's paradox — military brilliance squandered by diplomatic weakness. And it demonstrated England's ability to turn defeat into advantage by financial cunning and political trickery.*

The peace of 1748 (Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle) ushered in an interlude during which the English managed to ally themselves with the Prussians in order to overcome the French[68]. The French were left with none but Maria Theresa of Austria as their ally. Thus reinforced by Prussia, the English had but to provoke a new war in order to try to bring down the French. The British strategy was : *while the Prussians tied the hands of France on the European continent, the English would only have to seize the ill-defended French colonies*. Within eight years only, the same mercantile and religious rivalries would explode into the ***Seven Years' War*** — a global struggle in which the fates of Europe, India, and the Americas would be decided. This time the Prussians were the ones left

[66] On the subject of the latter two, see the note above.
[67] Or 8.33%. One of these 12 battles, that of Cap-Enragé on 15 Nov. 1750, remained indecisive.
[68] *Diplomatic Revolution* **or** *Renversement des Alliances* or *Basculement des Alliances*, circa 1756.

holding the bag for the English. Frederick the Great only grasped it after the fact.

The Duke of Cumberland was far from being a strategic genius like Frederick of Prussia or Napoleon. But it was England that financed the war against France by supplying to all its allies many mercenary regiments (German, and sometimes Scottish to the Netherland) since Britain was the chief beneficiary of all these incessant wars. Consequently, it seemed natural for the London Lobbies to impose an English prince as a general-in chief of the anti-French coalition.

The letter of Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, to his godson (and future heir) Solomon Dayrolles, English ambassador in The Hague, on 3 May 1748, sums up the incredulous astonishment of the English: "My prophecy[69] is fulfilled. I congratulate you as well as I do, for if one part of my prediction had not been fulfilled, it would have been the other, that is to say, our inevitable ruin. If the French had not signed the Preliminaries at the time they did, and if they had wished to make the most of the advantages they had in their hands, we would have been lost[70]. Many people here are astonished at the moderation of the court of France, and cannot account for it according to the known rules of politics. Profound historians who always want to give great causes to any event will find it difficult to assign one for it. I, who like to see things in a simpler light, and who seek the causes in the

[69] Miscellaneous Works of the late Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield; consisting of Letters to His Friends, Never Before Printed, and Various other Articles, to which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life, tending to illustrate the Civil, Literary, and Political History of his Time, by M. Maty, M.D. Late Principal Librarian of the British Museum, and Secretary to the Royal Society. Second Edition in Four Volumes, with an Appendix containing Sixteen Characters of Great personages and Letters Written by the Same Noble Earl. Volume The Fourth, Edward and Charles Dilly, in the Pourltry, London, 1779, Book II. Lettre XXX, p.48-50.

[70] The italic segment was not highlighted in the original text.

weaknesses rather than in the wisdom of men, this is how I give an account of it *: the King of France is a quiet and unambitious prince, who was tired of war, and particularly of the life of the camps, which he could not renounce, having once adopted it, as long as the war lasted. The French courtiers are not so clumsy as not to conform their sentiments to the wishes of the prince, without troubling themselves, whether or not they are contrary to the interest of the nation.* Change the word peace into war, and the same principle will explain to you why we continued the war when it was clear that we were no longer in a condition to support it. But whatever the causes of the event, we narrowly escape, all of us in general, and four people in particular : the Duke of Cumberland escapes defeat and disgrace, the Prince of Orange escapes being deposed, and the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Sandwich... Far from blaming peace, I am cordially satisfied that it has been made : I was in favour of making it sooner and consequently better...; the Republic [of *the Seven United Provinces*] is saved from complete ruin and England from bankruptcy."

So, according to Chesterfield and any attentive and impartial historian, the only reason Louis XV sabotaged his soldiers' victories was his weariness of following his army in the field. He simply wanted to return home and find the comfort of Versailles. The King of England had very opportunely abandoned his army in the field after his fright at Dettingen, and thus he was not in danger of tiring himself of battlefields. In any case, the London merchant Lobbies would not have given him the leisure to give up the advantages of a victorious war, because he was ***not*** an absolute monarch.

As soon as the War of the Austrian Succession was over, there was a military rebalancing in Europe. After fighting for the King of Prussia, Louis XV's France would fight against him, adopting the alliance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire that England had

just abandoned. It was then the *Seven Years' War* of sad memory for the French and the Austrians, and also, sadly, for us Canadians.

The rulers of France seemed ever anxious to display before the eyes of the nations a magnanimity bordering on folly, as if to persuade mankind that they were born to forgive, to renounce, and even to immolate the very interests of their own people upon the altar of a universal and abstract Justice. This illusion of the eighteenth century survived into the nineteenth, when Napoleon III, in the name of England, cast hundreds of thousands of his subjects into the abyss of the Crimea War and the faraway fields of China (Opium War)[71]. This *Good Shepherd syndrome*, with its urge to better the world, persisted into the following centuries, the twentieth and this one, when a weary and breathless France, already bent beneath the weight of its history, opened her gates without resistance to the destitute multitudes of the earth. Thus, devoured by the malady of a useless sacrifice, French leaders cultivated an astounding indifference, a sort of sublime inconsequence which, beneath the mask of generosity, concealed the most perilous disdain for their own nation.

Thus, it was that, in the vast ensuing conflagration of the *Seven Years' War*, perfidious Albion contrived to hurl the Prussians upon the French across the battlefields of Europe. While the French armies, bled and wearied, grappled with their Prussian foes,

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[71] Napoleon III engaged himself in the Crimean War against Russia and in the Second Opium War in China, cloaking his intervention beneath flimsy religious pretexts—the assassination of a missionary in China, and the quarrels in Jerusalem between Catholic and Orthodox priests. In truth, it was not faith that moved him, but loyalty: he offered Queen Victoria hundreds of thousands of soldiers out of sheer friendship, to aid the English who had once sustained him in his years of exile and who, in turn, would shelter him again when he was cast down from his throne. For the Crimean campaign alone, he dispatched 310,000 French soldiers, of whom 95,000 never returned. By contrast, the English contribution amounted to barely 98,000 men, many of them mercenaries, of whom 22,000 perished. Thus, in that bloody enterprise, France poured out her lifeblood with prodigality, while England, parsimonious in sacrifice, reaped the harvest of glory.

the British, with the insolent ease of freebooters, slipped across the oceans to lay hands upon France's distant and ill-defended colonies. And when the smoke of that worldwide struggle at last cleared, Frederick the Great —he who fancied himself the arbiter of Europe— was forced to behold his own reflection in the mirror of history : that of the dupe, the laughingstock, the turkey of the farce. The English had borne off the spoils, and the Prussians, after torrents of blood, were left with nothing but the bitter knowledge of having been used. As for the French, they bitterly regretted having so kindly spared the English after having defeated them in the previous war, the War of the Austrian Succession.

One can discern a historical parallel between the two wars that drenched the 18th century in blood —the War of the Spanish Succession and the Seven Years' War— and, likewise, the two world wars of the 20th century — the First and the Second. The Germans, vanquished in 1918, persuaded themselves that victory had eluded them by but a hair's breadth, and only because treachery within (the communists) had struck them from behind. Americans economic Lobbies, in turn, shielded them from the full weight of French retribution by diverting the punishment (the Reparations). A century and a half earlier, the English, though they had lavishly subsidized the War of Austrian Succession, emerged unscathed from the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle : the French exacted no penalty on England and protected this country against de demands of Spain[72]. Thus unpunished, the English too fostered the illusion that, with new allies at their side —the Prussians— they might yet seize the laurels of victory. And so it was that these two former losers, England and Germany, which had escaped the hand of

[72] For example, by compelling Spain to once again grant England the Asiento (the slave trade contract with Spanish America) and by stipulating that Spain refrain from reoccupying Gibraltar."

justice, once more unsheathed the sword and set Europe ablaze within the span of twenty years[73].

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[73] and only eight years for the present War of the Austrian Succession.

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Frederick II (1712 – 1786) was the monarch of Prussia from 1740 until his death in 1786. He was the last Hohenzollern monarch titled King in Prussia, declaring himself King in Prussia. His most significant accomplishments include military successes in Silesian annexion, reorganization of the Prussian Army, the First Partition of Poland and patronage of the arts and the Enlightenment. Prussia greatly increased its territories and became a major military power in Europe under his rule. He became known as Frederick the Great (German: Friedrich der Große) and was nicknamed "Old Fritz" (German: der Alte Fritz). His large gentle eyes should not make one forget his famous cry, 'Hunde, wollt ihr ewig leben?' which he shouted at his soldiers, reluctant to mount the assault again after heavy losses: "Dogs! Do you want to live forever?" (battle of Kolin, 18 June 1757)

HISTOIRE DU COSTUME. — LOUIS XV ET LOUIS XVI.
Gentilhomme
Dame
Dame en grand panier
Gentilshommes
Officier aux gardes françaises
Costumes de la bourgeoisie
RÈGNE DE LOUIS XV
Garde suisse
Grenadier
Gendarme du roi
Hussard
Gentilshommes et Abbé de cour
Dames nobles
Facteur de la poste
Paysan
RÈGNE DE LOUIS XV
Bourgeois
Dame noble
Gentilhomme
Dragon
Infanterie
Hulan
Dame en costume de cour
Gentilhomme
Costume de chasse
Bourgeoise
RÈGNE DE LOUIS XVI
Bourgeoise
Bourgeois
Dames
Costume de cheval
Dame
Homme en frac
Garde-suisse
Cent-suisse
Chasseur à pied
RÈGNE DE LOUIS XVI

Battle of Ambour.

Date of the action: August 3, 1749.

Location: City of Indian Carnatic. Geographical coordinates: 12° 47' north latitude, and 78° 42' east longitude. [see the toponymic map at the end of the chapter of the Battle of the Panar River 1753]

Conflict: France and England were officially at peace. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had just been signed in 1748.

Background: The Europeans in India always engaged in a war of attrition by siding with one or another of the Indian princes. Chanda Sahïb won the favor of the French by ceding to them a small territory in the vicinity of Pondicherry. The British, for their part, had received the town of Devikota at the mouth of the Coleron River [Koleroon], about 190 km south of Madras. Thus, in April 1749, a force of 430 Scots, Irish, English, and mercenaries, supported by 1,000 Sepoys, under the command of Captain Cope, was sent to restore the former Rajah Sahuji to his throne. Chanda Sahïb supported Muzaffar[1] Jung, grandson of the Deccan viceroy, Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had died in 1748[2]. On his death, Muzaffar Jung was designated viceroy in his place. But Nasir Jung, the second son of the deceased, did not accept this decision. He seized his father's treasures to raise an army for himself and proclaim himself Sudabar of the Deccan. Muzaffar Jung, lacking financial resources[3],

[1] **Indian form of Mustafa.**
[2] **The latter had 5 sons, but of little political ambition.**
[3] **Or rather, for this precise reason.**

turned to Satara to ask Chanda Sahïb for support[4]. Chanda Sahïb in turn sought the favor of Dupleix, from whom he obtained 1,200 Sepoys from the garrison of Pondicherry and 400 French soldiers. He also recruited another 3,500 Indian troops and was reinforced by Muzaffar Jung at the head of 30,000 men of rather mediocre fighting quality. Suddenly seeing himself at the head of such an army, Chanda Sahïb decided to march on Arcate[5] in order to seize the resources of Carnatic (Carnatic) and use this capital of Carnatic as a base from which to attack Nasir Jung. By the end of July 1749, Chanda Sahïb had secured the Damalcherry Pass for security reasons. There he was joined by the French contingent commanded by d'Auteuil and strong of 400 Frenchmen, 1,200 Sepoys, and 6 pieces of artillery. They soon learned that Anaverdikan[6] and his two sons, at the head of 20,000 men reinforced by English artillery [60 gunners], had taken up position at Ambour, about 45 km to the south, and were preparing to give battle to them. So they marched in that direction.

Commanders ♦ *French : first* Charles de Combault, Baron d'Auteuil, *then* Charles-Joseph Patissier, Marquis de Bussy-Castelnau[7], ChandaSahïb [or Chunda Sahïb][8]. ♦*Anglo-Indian*: Anaverdikan.

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[4] This town belonged to the Mahrattes, hereditary enemies of the Mohammedan authority. The political rivalries between Hindus and Muslims in India, which culminated in the massacres of 1948, have always existed.

[5] Arcot or Arcate. One of the three key fortresses of the Carnatic along with Gingi and Trichinopoly.

[6] Sometimes written and pronounced Anwaroudin; unless that it was one of his nicknames.

[7] Charles Joseph Patissier de Bussy-Castelnau, French general, born in 1718, died in 1785 in Pondicherry. He served with distinction under Joseph François Dupleix in the Indies; contributed to the lifting of the siege of Pondicherry in 1748, and in 1782 was appointed commander of the Land and Sea Armies beyond the Cape of Good Hope. He concerted his operations with the bailli of Suffren.

[8] Chanda Shahïb was the mogul of Carnatic between 1749 and 1752. His real name was Husayn Dost Khan.

Anglo-Indian troops engaged ♦: 20,000 men with English artillery. ♦Franco-Indians: nearly 35,000 men, including 400 French soldiers.

Strategy or Tactics: Arcate was the capital of Carnatic, but two other fortresses: Gingi and Trichinopoly were also considered the *Keys to Carnatic*. The position of Ambour, defended on one side by a mountain dominated by a castle, leaning on the other against a large lake, was extremely strong. The land between the mountain and the lake constituted the Damalcherry Pass, which penetrated into the Carnatic. This important Carnatic Gate had also been fortified by entrenchments, armed with artillery batteries served by the English. In the rear stood the main army of the Nabob [or Nawwab]. All these positions were situated behind a stream, the waters of which flowed over the plain, forming swamps. The front, which bordered the stream, was reinforced by the entrenchments and shoulders of which we have spoken.

Summary of the action: On August 3, the Franco-Indian army of Chanda-Sahïb and Auteuil arrived in sight of the Anglo-Indian positions. The French were in the vanguard. On seeing the English positions, d'Auteuil offered Chanda Sahïb to storm them with his French. Chanda Sahïb accepted, of course. Combault d'Auteuil therefore immediately launched his companies to the attack. A hail of English cannonballs stopped them. At the head of his men, the old d'Auteuil was wounded in the thigh and fell at the foot of the English entrenchments. Only a few men managed to scale the defenses but without any support from the rear. The momentum was broken. The French retreated. De Bussy took command. He rushed to the assault, reserving his fire until his men reached the entrenchments. The French scaled the parapets, followed by Chanda-Sahïb and his Indian soldiers, and then they made a general discharge. The Anglo-Indians resisted badly. It was a massacre. Anaverdikan,

no longer in the vigor of youth[9], was struck to the heart, and expired at the very moment he defied Chanda Sahïb to a duel. Disorder spread throughout the Anglo-Indian ranks. Maphuz Khan surrendered himself prisoner, and his father owed his salvation only to a frantic flight. The camp, the baggage, sixty elephants, a large number of horses, and all the English artillery fell into the hands of the Franco-Indians.

Casualties[10] ♦The French had lost 12 killed and 63 wounded, not to mention 300 Sepoys killed or wounded. ♦the Anglo-Indian losses are unknown precisely but heavy.

Consequence of this Anglo-Indian defeat: The most important gain for the French was the conquest of Carnatic, now assured by this decisive victory. The next day, the capital of Carnatic[11] fell into the hands of the French. Chanda Sahïb distributed 60,000 rupees to the French soldiers. D'Auteuil received a territory producing 4,000 rupees in tax revenues. Feeling their precarious situation, the English, in the form of the governor of Fort St. David, hastened to congratulate Chanda Sahïb and to recognize him as the nabob of Carnatic[12].

---

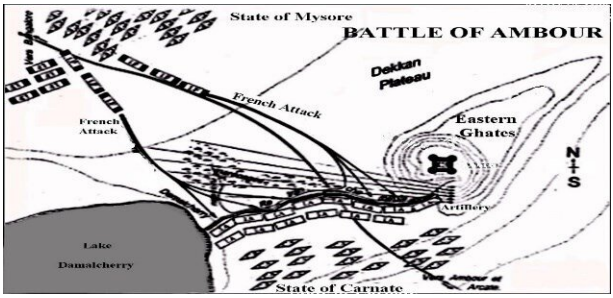
[9] According to tradition, he had reached the more than canonical age of 107 years! According to other sources, Anaverdikan was killed by a shot from a cannon shot at his elephant.

[10] In military terminology, **losses** and **casualties** are related but not identical concepts: C**asualties** refers to the *number of personnel rendered unfit for duty* during a given period. This includes*: Killed in action (KIA), Wounded in action (WIA), Missing in action (MIA), Captured / prisoners of war (POW);* Sometimes also those incapacitated by disease or accidents, depending on the reporting system. Casualties *do not always mean deaths* — a soldier who is wounded but survives is still counted as a casualty. **Losses**: A broader term that can include **casualties** but also *material and equipment losses*.

[11] Arcate (Arcot).

[12] If you can't beat them, join them !, policy followed yesterday by England in the EEC.

SOURCES & FURTHER READINGS ♦Colonel G.B. Malleson CSI, *History of the French in India*, John Grant, Édimbourg, 1909. ♦Gabriel JouveauDubreuil, *Dupleix; ou, L'Inde conquise*, Librarie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Paris, 1942. ♦John Charpentier, *Dupleix et l'empire des Indes*, Mame, Tours, 1937. ♦Pierre de Vaissière, *Dupleix*, Plon, Paris, 1931.



Battle of Arcate or Arcot.

Date of the action: April 21, 1753.

Location: The battlefield is equidistant between Arcate (Arcot) and Velore, Indian Carnatic[13].

Conflict: Official peace between France and England since the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748]. Colonial rivalries in the Indian subcontinent.

Background: The local Indian princes engaged in incessant military rivalries, employing French or English mercenaries from Pondicherry and Madras as the core of their own troops.

Chiefs present ♦*French*: Prince Mortiz-Ali[14]. ♦*English*: ensign Joseph Smith [some historians give him the rank of colonel].

Troops engaged ♦*Anglo-Indian*: 2,550 men in all. ♦*Franco-Indians*: 4,050 men.

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[13] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, April 13, 1753.

[14] Mortiz Ali was the son of Bakir Ali, governor of the city and territory of Velore. Bakir Ali was the adopted son of Sadatoullah, the nawab of Carnatic. When Nizam al Mulk became Subadar of the Indian Deccan, a chief named Sadatoullah was a nabob of Carnatic, and held this office under Nizam until his death in the year 1732. Sadatoullah, who had no male heirs, adopted his brother's two sons: Dough Ali and Bakir Ali. He appointed Bâkir Ali governor of Velore, and he arranged for Doust Ali to take over as his nabob on his death. Nizam al Mulk claimed the right to appoint his deputy in the Carnatic government and was displeased that Doust Ali could hold this position without taking into account his own opinion. But he was then engaged in a dispute with the emperor, and as a result he avoided showing his frustration. Doust Ali had two sons and four daughters. One of these daughters was married to Mortiz Ali, son of his brother Bakir Ali, governor of Velore, another to Chanda Sahïb who became Minister of Finance under Doust Ali, his father-in-law.

Strategy or Tactics: The French and the English, in official peace, were to fight only on international territory and not in their own territorial concessions which they were not to invade under any circumstances.

Summary of the action: Having heard that the English were no longer venturing to attack the French entrenchments at Tiravidi, and that Trichinopoly was under heavy siege by the Mysorians, Mortiz Ali, on the advice of Dupleix, went to devastate the region of Arcate. His troop consisted of 50 French soldiers with 3 pieces of artillery who had arrived in Pondicherry, 2,000 Sepoys, 1,500 cavalry, and 500 peons[15]. Caring little for the misery of the people, they ruthlessly devastated this region so that the English would get little tax revenue from it. Emboldened by the ease with which his soldiers got the better of the unarmed peasants, Mortiz Ali decided to attack Arcate herself.

Abdul Ouahab Khan, the brother of the Nabob of Arcate (Arcot) and a lieutenant of the province, dispatched Nazeabulla, another brother of the Nabob, with a force consisting of 800 Sepoys, 1,000 cavalry, and 500 peons. This group was joined by an English detachment of 50 Europeans and 200 English Sepoys with two field guns, all under the command of Ensign Joseph Smith. On 21 April, Smith marched towards Velore and found the enemy army deployed across the road. Smith began to cannon the Franco-Indians and especially the French artillery which of course retaliated immediately. The English infantry was launched into an assault but broke upon the Franco-Indian line, falling back in disorder. Several other assaults were launched by the English, but all failed. The Anglo-Indian cavalry then charged forward but was also repulsed, suffering losses, and scattering in retreat. Seeing the English flight, the Franco-Indians seized the opportunity, attacking

[15] Indian infantrymen. Nothing to do with the Andean shepherds.

and surrounding them. The English abandoned their artillery and fled to the city, where they were captured by the French. Smith was also taken prisoner by the French and sent captive to Velore. Only three Englishmen managed to escape captivity.

Casualties ♦French: unknown. ♦English: heavy.

Consequence of this English defeat: Heavy on the morale of the English troops but strategically insignificant.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Colonel G.B. Malleson CSI, History of the French in India, John Grant, Édimbourg, 1909. ♦Gabriel JouveauDubreuil, Dupleix; ou, L'Inde conquise, Librarie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Paris, 1942. ♦John Charpentier, Dupleix et l'empire des Indes, Mame, Tours, 1937. ♦Pierre de Vaissière, Dupleix, Plon, Paris, 1931. ♦Auguste Toussaint, Histoire des îles Mascareignes, Berger Levrault, Paris, 1972. ♦James Mill, *The History of British India*, Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 6 volumes, Londres, 1817

Siege of Ath.

Date of the action: 27th September – 8th October 1745.

Location: Belgium. Geographical coordinates: 50°38' north latitude, and 03°47' east longitude. [See the toponymic map of the Austrian Netherlands located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend, from 10th to 23rd August 1745]

Context: Operations resumed in the spring with the siege of Tournai[16], which capitulated on 22nd May, while its citadel resisted until 19 June. To relieve the city, the Duke of Cumberland, general-in-chief of the Anglo-Allied army, fought *the battle of Fontenoy* on 11 May and was defeated. The English army retreated between Ath and Lessines; then the French army advanced towards Leuze on 1 July, forcing the English to cross the Dender at Grammont. This manoeuvre covered the march from Lowendal against Ghent on the left bank of the Scheldt. Ghent surrendered on 15 July. Oudenaarde was taken on the 21st. Ostend fell on 24th August and Nieuwpoort on 5th September without the intervention of the demobilized Anglo-Allied army, established behind the Vilvoorde Canal, between Brussels and Vilvoorde. After the capture of Nieuwpoort and all the country which the *Queen of Hungary* possessed from the Dender to the sea, she had only the fortress of Ath left. This conquest secured large and quiet winter quarters, and increased the difficulties of the Anglo-allies in maintaining

[16] 25 April 1745.

themselves in Brabant. This siege marked the end of the Flanders campaign of 1745.

Chiefs in attendance ♦ *French*: Lieutenant-General, Count Louis-Gaspard-Joseph de Clermont-Gallerande. ♦*Anglo-allies*: the Governor was Count Casimir Wurmbrandt-Stuppach. The engineer commanding the artillery, Robert Spalart.

Troops enlisted ♦*French*: Probably 15,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry. ♦*Anglo-Allies*: The garrison consisted of 4,500 soldiers, English, Austrian, Dutch and Hanoverian.

Strategy or Tactics: Everything was used, including artificial flooding and ricochet batteries.

Summary of the action: Ath was invested on 27 September by the Count of Clermont-Gallerande, who did not deem it necessary to create lines of counter-vallation. He invested Ath with 8 infantry battalions and 26 cavalry squadrons. These numbers were increased on the 28th to 22 infantry battalions and one cavalry brigade, so that a total of 30 battalions and 28 squadrons[17]. The French Headquarter was established at Arbre, and the Engineer Brigades at Maffle. On 26 September, the day before the investment, the flood was brought to its highest level, and the 44 bronze cannons, as well as the 12 iron guns, were divided into 7 batteries on the bastions. On the 30th of September, the suburbs which could serve as shelters for the besiegers were burned; the palisades reinforced around the Fort du Paté, a bridgehead on the other bank of the Western Dender, facing Mont-Féron. The trench was opened during the night of 2 to 3 October by a parallel which rested on the flood on the right[18] as well as on the left, *i.e.* between Villers-Saint-

[17] Either 7 or 8 Infantry Regiments. A Cavalry Regiment had 13 to 15 squadrons.
[18] *i.e.* in the area of the road to Mons.

Amand and Villers-Notre-Dame. The *parallel*[19] ran through Irchonwelz. Thousands of soldiers worked there. During the night of 1 to 2 October, a large line of trenches was opened on the heights in front of the *Porte de Tournai*, to serve as a false attack and to install the artillery intended to strike the *Porte de Mons* from the rear and *in enfilade*. 1,200 workers carried out this work before daybreak. But at dawn the English cannoneers who were on the *cavalier*[20] of the bastions of Luxembourg and Artois began to harass the French troops who were busy setting up two batteries there. Other siege works were carried out the following night on the front of the *Porte de Mons*, and the parallel extended over the whole ground between the two floods, and even approached, in one place, 140 meters from the Allied palisade[21]. On the morning of October 4, the French artillery installed on Mont-Féron began to beat ricochets-like the front of attack. The Anglo-Allies then abandoned the advanced works on the Porte de Bruxelles front and destroyed the communication bridges there, to bring the soldiers who occupied them back to the Porte de Mons front. During the nights that followed, the zigzag trenches were continued, as well as the installation of breach batteries and mortars. At the same time, sapes were dug up to half of the glacis. So much so that, on the morning of the 6th, the Anglo-Allies were obliged to abandon the outer works and the covered road. The 20 mortars of the French fired relentlessly. Many houses were already destroyed, and several inhabitants killed under the ruins. After penetrating the glacis, the French trenches began to descend into the ditches of the serpent-tongued structure, in front of the salient of the Saint-Roch demi-moon. On

[19] A parallel is a trench parallel to the city of fortress walls. The zigzags joined the parallels together.

[20] In fortification science, a *cavalier* is a raised platform or structure that is built on top of a fortification, typically on the ramparts or walls, to provide elevated vantage points for defending troops. The purpose of *the cavalier* is to increase the defensive capability by allowing soldiers to have an unobstructed view of the surrounding area, making it easier to spot approaching enemies or artillery.

[21] A palisade that protected the fortifications, all around the glacis.

the morning of the 7th, during a suspension of arms, the French sent a message to the Anglo-Allied governor, offering him honourable terms of capitulation. But the latter resolved to sustain the siege until the following Saturday, as he hoped to be rescued by the Prince of Waldeck[22] who commanded 10 to 12,000 men. The French took advantage of the truce to take a closer look at the state of the city's defenses. During the following night, the French trenches continued to advance, while the city was subjected to a merciless bombardment, with *red bullets* in order to sow fires. The cries of the inhabitants, crushed by bombs and cannonballs[23], would have moved the most hardened hearts, "*but war and pity are incompatible*[24]." This was a fairly widespread opinion at the time. The only calamity that managed to affect the Anglo-Allied governor of the city was the destruction of his arsenal. As a result, on October 8 at 10:00 a.m., he asked to capitulate. At Enghien, the Duc d'Estrées[25] had been informed, on October 4, that an *Anglo-Allied Relief Army* of 12,000 to 15,000 men had taken up a position at Halle. The Count of Clermont-Gallerande therefore prepared for a possible battle intended to repel this Relief Army. The place he chose and had fortified leaned on the left on Attre and on the right on Chièvres. But in the meantime, the allied garrison of Ath accepted to surrender and left the city with *the Honours of War* on 11 October.

Casualties ♦Quite heavy on both sides.

***As a result* of this Anglo-Allied defeat**, the fortifications of the fortress of Ath were dismantled. The whole of Flanders was in the hands of the French.

---

[22] Waldeck was a principality of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire.
[23] The French distinctly heard them cry out for mercy.
[24] Wrote the Austrian J. Ruwet, coldly
[25] This was Marshal Louis-Charles-César Le Tellier, Duke d'Estrées. A descendant of Louvois.

Fortress of Ath

Location of approach trenches and breach batteries.

Municipal Archives of Ath.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Reed Browning, *The war of the Austrian succession,* A. Sutton, Stroud,1994.♦Neil Bannatyne, lieutenant-colonel, *History of the Thirtieth Regiment, 16891881*, Liverpool, 1923. ♦Christian Cannuyer, JeanMarc Depluvrez, *Les fortifications d'Ath durant la période espagnole*, Cercle royal d'Histoire et d'Archéologie d'Ath et de la région et Musées athois, Ath, 1984. Acte royal. 11 octobre 1745 à Fontainebleau, *Lettre... à Mgr l'archevêque de Paris [pour lui mander de faire chanter le Te Deum dans son diocèse, en actions de grâces de la prise d'Ath.* Gilberte Pinault, *Vie de LouisGaspard-Joseph, comte de Clermont-Gallerande*, dans Bulletin de la Société

Raid against Athole.

Date of the action : 10-31 March 1746.

Location : County in the Inverness region, Scotland.

Conflict : War of the Austrian Succession [1740-1748]. Campaign in Scotland and England by Prince Charles-Edward Stuart [23 years old], candidate for the throne of Scotland.

Background : On his return from his incursion into England, Prince Charles Edward won two battles over the English, at Preston and Falkirk. On January 30, 1746, the Duke of Cumberland[26] arrived in Edinburgh to lead the English army of invasion and reprisal. For several weeks he "pursued" Charles Edward's army in the Highlands, but was careful not to catch up with it. The latter divided his army into two columns, for subsistence purposes, with Inverness as a rallying point. On 8 February, Hessian units landed at Leith (Edinburgh) to reinforce the British army. They were

[26] The Duke of Cumberland, son of the King of England, was then 25 years old, like Charles Edward. He was the vanquished of Fontenoy and dreamed of restoring his image with an easy victory. The Englishman Lord Mahon describes him as a courageous man but whose "judgment was too guided by his passions, which were often violent and uncontrollable." ["his judgment is too much guided by his passions, which are often violent and ungovernable." Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p.23]. Chambers describes the Duke of Cumberland and his underling Hawley, the vanquished of Falkirk, as "notable exceptions to the rule that brave men are not cruel." One day, in Flanders, a deserter had been hanged right in front of Hawley's windows. The barber [surgeon] asked permission to take the body to perform dissections. But Hawley only reluctantly agreed to give up his pleasant spectacle: "At least," he said, "you will give me back the skeleton and hang it in the guardhouse." [Robert Chambers, History of the Rebellion of 17456, W.& R. Chambers, Limited. Edinburgh, 1840, note p.239] One of the causes of friction between the Scots and the English was the confiscation, at the end of the thirteenth century, of the *Stone of Destiny*; a large stone of 40 or 50 kg which served as a pedestal for the coronation of the kings of Scotland, according to tradition. It had been confiscated from Edinburgh Castle six centuries earlier, in order to prevent the Scots from crowning their kings. But —cleverly, cleverly and half-cleverly—the latter had proceeded to the crowning *without the stone*. On December 1, 1996, it was returned to the Scots by London, in order to calm the Scottish people's desire for independence.

commanded by the Prince of Hesse, Cumberland's cousin. On the Montagnard side, only a few French companies landed in the Firth of Moray, Inverness region. The Duke of Cumberland, son of the King of England and general-in-chief of the Anglo-German army destined to put down the Scottish insurrection, subjected the entire region to *bloody reprisals* that earned him the nickname of *the Butcher.* English detachments scoured Upper Perthshire, treating the inhabitants with extreme harshness. All the houses, whose men were absent, and therefore probably fighting in the army of Prince Charles-Edward, were burned without mercy, and the inhabitants thrown into the snow and into the greatest misery, as would be the French-Canadian in New France 12 years later. George Murray heard of this while equipping his troops in Inverness. He decided to carry out reprisals against the English.

Chiefs present ♦*English*: unknown. ♦*Franco-Scottish*: Georges Murray[27].

Forces enlisted ♦*Franco-Scottish*: 700 men subdivided into about thirty commandos of 20 or 25 men each. ♦*English*: small garrisons of 20 or 30 men in each post.

Strategy or tactic: Burning insurgent homes in the middle of winter was a cruel but extremely effective tactic to provoke mass desertions. This tactic was used by the British in Quebec in 1759. The secret of these counter-retaliatory coups de main was well kept until the last moment to avoid leaks.

Summary of the action : George Murray decided to act to thwart the English reprisals. In the greatest secrecy, so that the English would not be warned of his coup de main, he set out with 700 men

[27] Lord George Murray [16941760] was a Scottish Jacobite general, a supporter of the Catholic pretender. He was the 5th son of John, 1st Earl of Atholl by his first wife, Catherine, daughter of the 3rd Duke of Hamilton. He was born at Huntingtower, near Perth, on 4 October 1694.

who were unaware of the objective of their mission. On the evening of the 10th of March, the column reached Dalnaspidal, on the margins of Athole. The column divided into about thirty commandos of 20 or 25 men, and each commando was given a different mission: to attack an English post and then to reach the rallying point, the Bruar bridge, 3 km from Blair. The main posts to be attacked were Bun Rannoch, Kynnachin's house, Blairfettie's house, Lude's, Faskally's, and Blair's inn, in addition to a few lesser objectives. Each commando set out on the march at once and found itself before dawn in a position to attack its objective. At *Bun Rannoch,* the garrison held festivities following a body vigil that preceded a burial. The garrison was surprised, laid down their arms and was taken prisoner without the slightest shot. At *Kynnachin* the English sentry gave the alarm, and the resistance lasted for some time. A man of the garrison was killed; after which the garrison laid down their arms. At *Blairfettie*, the English garrison was surprised, as was the sentry, and the fight lasted a few minutes before their capitulation. The posts of *Lude* and *Faskally* were taken in the same way. At *Blair's Inn*, on the other hand, the English garrison defended itself well (at first) and managed to flee to Blair Castle, where Governor Sir Andrew Agnew put his men on alert and made a sortie to identify the attackers. Dusk was beginning to dawn on the horizon and George Murray was waiting at the final rallying point with his commando of 24 men, when a Scottish peasant came to warn him that Sir Andrew Agnew's English troop was approaching. As he could not evade it, since he was waiting in this place for the other commandos, he decided to resist. He noticed a wall of peat, which bordered a field, near a bridge, and posted his men behind, giving them very long intervals. Having with him several bagpipers, he ordered them to play, as soon as they saw the English troops, a noisy pibrock[28]. Blair's garrison appeared at

[28] It seems surprising that commandos should have cluttered themselves with bagpipes to carry out a night mission! This action smacks of Gasconade or at least of patriotic legend.

daybreak. After listening for some time to the lamentations of the bagpipes, their officer, thinking he was dealing with a larger force, ordered a retreat to Blair Castle. Murray waited until half of his troops had returned and then kept the castle's garrison under fire from his men, which forced him to remain locked up for two or three weeks. On 31 March the Franco-Scots returned to their lines.

As a result of this English defeat, thirty posts had been reduced. The English prisoners were numerous.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦John Prebble, *Culloden,* Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd, Londres, 1965. ♦T.M. Devine & David Dickson, *Ireland and Scotland*, *16001850, Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development*, John Donald Publishers Ltd, Edinburgh, 1983. ♦Alexander Robertson, *Extermination of the Scottish Peasantry*, Londres, 1853. [Écrit sour le pseudonyme de R. Alister pour éviter les représailles du gouvernement anglais]. ♦R.H. Murray, *Revolutionary Ireland and its Settlement*. Londres, 1911.♦Hartpole, William, Edward Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century,* Volume 1, Longmans, Green & Co, London, Bombay [Mumbai] & Calcutta, 1879. ♦Lord Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, London, 1861.

The "Castle of Atholl" most commonly refers to Blair Castle, located in Blair Atholl, Perthshire, Scotland. It's the historic seat of the Duke of Atholl and has been home to the Atholl family for over seven centuries. The castle is also known for being the last castle in the British Isles to be besieged, which happened in 1746 during the Jacobite rising.

Battle of Bahour.

Other spellings : Battle of Bàhur, of Bahoor.

Date of the action : September 6, 1752

Location: Indies, Côte du Cormandel, Carnatic. City located about thirty kilometers south of Pondicherry[29] (Puducherry today).

Conflict : France and England had been officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748].

Background: Shortly after the French victory at Vicravandi, the Mysorians and Murari Rao declared for France and decided to send troops to Dupleix, governor of the French Indies, on condition that he prevent the English army from interfering in their local quarrels over Trichinopoli. To this end, Dupleix sent Kerjean with 2,400 men[30] to blockade Fort Saint-David, the main English base on the Coromandel coast. Dupleix was awaiting the arrival of the ship Le PRINCE with a reinforcement of 700 men and above all an officer who had experience on Indian soil: Monsieur de La Touche[31]. Kerjean knew that La Touche was coming to replace him at the head of the French troops, so he wanted to "*prove himself*[32]". But Major Lawrence, who was very clever, fell back towards Bahour, hoping that Kerjean would follow him. The cunning English chief

[29] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.
[30] Including 380 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys and 500 local cavalrymen.
[31] In fact, this ship was lost body and property at sea.
[32] That is to say, to measure himself against Lawrence; as Admiral Villeneuve, who wanted to prove himself before being relieved of his duties, fought the Battle of Cape Trafalgar [see this action in 1805], with the same result.

was right. The ambition that was devouring Kerjean was going to make him commit a blunder.

Commanders : ♦*French*: Colonel Desnos de Kerjean[33]. ♦*English* : Major Lawrence.

Troops engaged : ♦*French*: 2,400 soldiers including 380 Europeans, 1,500 Sepoys and 500 Indian cavalry. ♦*English*: 3,500 English including 500 Europeans.

Strategy or Tactics : Since Major Lawrence did not have permission to attack the French on their own territory, Kerjean should have exercised caution before reinforcements arrived and remained in French territory. But, by a stratagem, Lawrence nevertheless managed to lure him to international territory. Kerjean made the mistake of putting his 1,500 Sepoys in the center of his line instead of placing a harder core: his Europeans, who were more disciplined and above all more accustomed to hand-to-hand combat.

Summary of the action: Lawrence therefore used a stratagem to lure Kerjean out of French territory. On the morning of August 28, 1752, Major Lawrence left Fort Saint-David at the head of 3,500 soldiers, including 500 Europeans. Kerjean did not want to be induced to follow him[34]. Then, he went to camp 3 km from Bahour where Lawrence, having a larger force, decided to attack him. On September 6, 1752, at 3:00 a.m., Lawrence set out in the greatest secrecy towards Bahour, 3 km from Fort Saint-David.

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[33] Colonel Jacques Desnos de Kerjean was related to Dupleix through his Indo-Portuguese wife, a Carvalho. His father, Jacques-Claude Desnos de Kerjean, commissioner of the navy in Brest, had married Joseph François Dupleix's sister, Anne Elisabeth. He was also related to Jean Law de Lauriston through his mother, Jeanne de Carvalho.

[33] According to some, it was his uncle Dupleix who gave him the order to pursue the English.

The Sepoys formed the first line; the European battalion the second line, and the artillery the flanks. The Nabob's Cavalry was stationed on the right on the other bank of the river, which meandered from one army to another. The surprise attack began before dawn. The Sepoys fell upon the French outposts who fired on them, but the English did not respond in order to surprise the French Sepoys. The fight began and continued until daylight. At this moment, the Franco-Sepoy battalion was discovered, deployed, its right leaning on the upper bank and its left on a pond. The English battalion halted before the confrontation to re-form under fire from the eight pieces of French artillery. The action then became bloody and fierce, with bayonet assaults. Kerjean had made a tactical error; he had placed his 1,500 Sepoys in the center of his system instead of his more seasoned Europeans. The English major did not fail to note this error of Kerjean's, and, as he had a larger force at his disposal, he carried out a sustained assault of European Grenadiers against this point, which he considered to be weak. After a long and furious resistance, the Franco-Indian Center (the Sepoys) finally gave way and retreated in disorder, causing the wings to retreat, the two inner flanks of which were now dangerously exposed.

Casualties ♦116 Frenchmen were taken prisoner[35]. The number of French soldiers killed is not known. ♦The English had 83 killed and wounded.

Consequence of this French defeat: The psychological effect was enormous and instantaneous on the local princes. Prince Innis Khan, who arrived with 3,000 Mahrattes to reinforce the French, immediately defected and went over to the English. But, as Lawrence remained inactive for at least 6 weeks after his victory, the Mysorians and Mahrattes abandoned the English alliance to join the French camp again. Despite his success, Major Lawrence did

[35] Dont Kerjean lui-même avec 15 autres officiers et 100 hommes.

not take advantage of it out of excess of caution or hoarding. He did not engage in additional military operations. He contented himself with combing the region to levy forced taxes on local peasants.

Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, from the British East India Company is known for his service in the Punjab region, his role in the Indian Rebellion of 1857, and his death during the Siege of Lucknow. (1806-1857)

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Colonel George Bruce Malleson, *Dupleix,* Clarendon press, Oxford, 1895. ♦*A complete history of the War in India from 1749 to 1761*, *with an accurate detail of Colonel Clive's military transactions*, Londres, 1761 ♦Yvonne Gaebelé, *Créole et grande dame, Johanna Bégum, marquise Dupleix, 17061756, sa famille, la vie aux Indes dans la première moitié du 18e siècle., Pondichéry en ce tempslà*, Publication de la Bibliothèque coloniale, Pondichéry, 1934. ♦The Carnatic. *Illustrating the Carnatic Wars 1740 to 1763*, Lokanandini Press, Triplicane, Madras, 1920.

Battle of Beaubassin.

Date of the action: September 15, 1750.

Location: The Beaubassin or Chignecto Isthmus connects the Nova Scotia peninsula to the North American continent. Geographical coordinates: 45°49' north latitude, and 64°14' west longitude.

Conflict: France and England had been officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748]. The seat of government of Nova Scotia had been transferred on July 12, 1749, from Annapolis Royal to Halifax.

Background: Since 1713 and the Treaty of Utrecht, Acadia was under English occupation. Its cession to England had been recognized and accepted by Louis XIV at the same time as Dunkirk and Hudson Bay, in order for England to abandon its allies, in the middle of the [Spanish Succession] war, as well as the coalition the London Lobbies had hatched. The Anglo-French boundary had been fixed in the Isthmus of Chignecto, which is now the boundary between the two provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The Acadians were French who settled in these two New France provinces [36]. Acadia was one of the colonies of New France, totally separated from Canada. On the morning of September 12, 1750, an English squadron of 17 sail appeared in Beaubassin Bay. This squadron was composed of brigantines, schooners, and smaller,

[36] Today Canadian. But at the time, Acadia and Canada were two distinct colonies that were part of New France. The fundamental difference between the two colonies was socio-administrative: while Canada had a seigneurial system, Acadian farmers were less tightly controlled

flat-bottomed boats. On the 13th, this squadron anchored off Vescac and remained there all day on the 14th.

Chefs in attendance ♦ The *French* troop [metropolitan and colonial] was commanded by Messrs. Leneuf de La Valière and La Corne; the Micmac Indians by the missionaries Le Loutre[37] and Germain. ♦: *English*, unknown.

Troops engaged ♦*English*: about 3,000 men, Regulars and Colonials. ♦*French*: about 450 Acadians[38] and Indians, and about sixty Metropolitan Regulars.

Strategy or Tactics: It was a simple exchange of gunfire. The Isthmus of Chignecto was a marshy sector; as a result, the Acadians had become, on the one hand, specialists in the art of making

[37] Jean-Louis Le Loutre was born in Morlaix on September 26, 1709. In 1737, after an internship at the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, he was sent to Louisbourg and then to the Micmacs of Chubenacadie (present-day Nova Scotia). He promised the English administrator of Halifax [the Huguenot Jean-Paul Mascarène] to work for peace, but seeing the excesses of the Acadians and Indians, he became increasingly hostile to the English, organized the guerrilla war himself, and induced the Acadians to flee Nova Scotia and settle in French territory. When war broke out in 1744, he was given a signal code to communicate with French ships from the coast. In 1747, he was taken prisoner and deported to England, but he gave a false name and the English did not recognize him, even though there was a price on his head! Some historians have written that he was recognized and that he was imprisoned for several years in England. He was repatriated to France and immediately [in 1748] took the road to Cape Breton Island, where he resumed his guerrilla action and the movement of the population to the French sector. In order to settle the Acadians on new lands, he organized the improvement of the marshes, of which there were many in these regions. He built a large aboiteau [one-way lock designed to empty the swamps and prevent the tide from moving up the rivers] on the Du Lac River [now Aulac]. For the latter construction he went to France in 1753 and was granted a subsidy of 50,000 livres tournois by the French government. At the capitulation of Fort Beauséjour he slipped through the fingers of the English again and went to Quebec, from where he took a ship bound for France. He was again captured by the English but still managed to hide his identity from them. He was not released until 1763. From that date until his death he devoted his time to welcoming into France thousands of Acadians who had been expelled by the English from their villages in Nova Scotia [ethnic cleansing] and who had transited through the Thirteen Colonies and England. He was thus able to repopulate Belle-Isle, which had been almost emptied of its inhabitants by the English invasion of the previous century. He died in 1772 while trying to establish a colony of Acadian refugees in Corsica.

[38] French colonials, volunteers or not.

swamps cultivable, and on the other hand, excellent guerrillas with whom the English had a lot of trouble.

Summary of the action: On 15 September this squadron weighed anchor and headed for Beaubassin, where, when the English troops attempted to land, they were received by a force of 30 French [Acadians] and 60 Mi'kmaq Indians[39]. The Acadians and Indians were entrenched behind a dike which had been built by Abbé Le Loutre and which ran from the *Rivière des Planches* to the Mézagouèche River[40]. The fire coming from the land was very lively and the English were forced to re-embark in all haste, leaving several killed on the field. The English then detached a small schooner to enter the mouth of the *Rivière des Planches* in order to attack the Acadians and Indians who had to retreat from the flank. Another warship entered the Mézagouèche for the same purpose, but the land fire became so violent that this second ship was unable to accomplish any of its mission. Seeing the Acadians and Mi'kmaq retreat under artillery fire from the first schooner, the English landing troops regained courage and began to resume their landing. This was done in good order. The fusillade that received them was rather weak in spite of the efforts of the missionaries[41], who incited the Franco-Indians to resistance. In the ensuing disorder, the two priests were nearly captured by the English. The arrest would have cost them their lives, because there was a price on Le Loutre's head. The English then advanced towards the cemetery, which was surrounded

[39] The Mi'kmaq of French Acadia were also called Souriquois. They were Champlain's friends at PortRoyal and remained constantly loyal to the French thereafter; their number, which was 4,000 in Champlain's time, has remained nearly the same to the present day.

[40] Misseguash today.

[41] Father Charles Germain was a Jesuit sent to the Saint-Jean River sector in 1745. He came several times to Beaubassin to cooperate with Le Loutre in organizing the guerrilla war against the English. After the fall of Quebec [1759], he induced the Acadians and Indians to submit without much success. In 1761 he received a pension of 50 pounds a year for his services in pacifying the French Acadians and Indians of the Saint John region [present-day New Brunswick]. In fact he received this pension for a very short time. In 1762 he wrote to the English authorities in Halifax informing them that he was unable to control the Indians. He eventually took refuge in Saint-François, Quebec, with 80 Indian families. He died at Saint-François in 1779.

by a wall more than a meter high and 30 cm thick, behind which the Acadians and Indians had entrenched themselves in order to continue the fusillade on the English, although out of range. Meanwhile, La Corne had assembled a detachment of regular troops and 200 Acadians at Pointe-Beauséjour, and had left La Valière at Vescac with his own force and 200 Acadians. The English detached two armed barges of 20 men each from their squadron on the Vescac to seize some Micmac canoes in the Vescac, ready to assist at Pointe-Beauséjour if necessary. La Valliere sent forty men of his detachment to keep them in check. When the English noticed this, "*they burned two musket priming charges with the intention of firing* (?) *and when they realized that we were not firing, they fired two shots from muskets with live ammunition*."(sic!) The French immediately returned fire; The captain of the barge fell dead and several men were wounded. The English immediately retreated to their ships under French fire.

Casualties ♦: *French*, a few wounded. ♦*English*: a few killed and wounded.

As a result of this English defeat, La Corne[42] ordered La Vallière to lead his men to Pointe Beauséjour, leaving only 30 men with an officer stationed at Vescac.

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[42] Jean-Louis, Pierre, Louis, Luc, Louis-François de La Corne, known as the Chevalier de La Corne, French officer in the colonial regular troops; b. 6 June 1703 at Fort Frontenac (now Kingston, Ont.), son of JeanLouis de La Corne de Chaptes and Marie Pécaudy de Contrecœur. La Corne entered the army and was appointed ensign second class in 1722 and ensign in 1727. On 21 Jan. 1728 he married MarieAnne Hubert de Lacroix. During the first three years of his marriage La Corne showed an interest in business; he advanced a great deal of money to traders who were travelling to Detroit, the Lake Michigan region, and Louisiana. By 1731 he was managing his interests in the fur trade from his house on Rue SaintPaul in Montreal, while at the same time serving as adjutant of the troops. He was not yet 30 years old. He was made lieutenant in 1738 and promoted captain six years later. It was in Acadia, in February 1747, that he took part for the first time in a military operation; he was appointed second in command of a force of some 300 Canadians and Indians who, under the direction of Nicolas-Antoine Coulon de Villiers, were to attack the 500 English garrison of GrandPré during the winter. Villiers having been wounded almost at the beginning of the fight, La Corne took command, and defeated the English, although they were more numerous. For this feat of arms, La

Acadia in 1750.. Ancient or peninsular Acadia, under Anglo-American control since the Treaty of Utrecht. New Acadia [the rest] remained French until the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Private collection.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦François Du Pont Duvivier, *Course à l'Accadie; journal de campagne de François Du Pont Duvivier en 1744,* Éditions d'Acadie, Moncton, 1982. ♦Milton P. Rieder, *Beaubassin,* 17121748, Metairie, Louisiane, 1976. ♦Francis Parkman, *The Acadian tragedy*, W. J. Noxon, Canadiana House, Toronto, 1968. ♦Bona ARSENAULT, *Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens*, 6 vol. Tome 1 : *Histoire des Acadiens,* tome 2 : *Port Royal,* tome 3 : *Beaubassin, GrandPré,* tome 4 : *Pisiguit, Cobequid, Chipoudy et Petitcoudiac, CapdeSable et Pobomcoup, Rivière SaintJean, Ristigouche*, tome 5 : *Plaisance, Ile Royale incluant Louisbourg, Ile SaintJean,* tome 6 : *Iles SaintPierre et Miquelon, Iles de la Madeleine, Bordeaux, BelleIleenMer, Louisiane,* Lemeac, Montréal, 1978.

Corne was awarded the cross of SaintLouis, which was awarded to him in May 1749. In mid-October 1749 La Corne left for Acadia to administer the oath of allegiance, to raise militia companies, and to build fortifications at Chipoudy (Shepody, N.B.) and Petitcodiac (near Hillsborough). He arrived in November and began fortifying the area near Fort Beauséjour (near presentday Sackville). In April 1750 Major Charles Lawrence appeared in front of the village of Beaubassin (near Amherst, N.S.), which Le Loutre and his Indian allies had burned to the ground. Faced with La Corne's aggressiveness, Lawrence withdrew. On September 8, 1760, Montreal fell into the hands of the English. La Corne decided to go to France. He sailed from Quebec on 15 Oct. 1761 but drowned with three of his relatives when the AUGUSTE sank the following month off the coast of Cape Breton Island. The "Louis" branch of the La Corne family became extinct with the death of his wife in Repentigny (Que.) in 1768, at the age of 91.

Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.

Date of the action: 22 July - 16 September 1747.

Location: Bergen-op-Zoom; Dutch Brabant, not far from the right bank of the Eastern Scheldt. Geographical coordinates: 51° 30' north latitude, and 04° 17' east longitude. [See the toponymic map of Flanders located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend, from 10 to 23 August 1745]

Background: Lawfeld's victory over the British allowed the French to capture the fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom without fear of intervention by the Anglo-Allied army, which, after losing 6,000 men, 23 cannons, 11 flags, standards and cymbals, was completely demoralized. After having amused and disturbed the Duke of Cumberland by a series of marches and countermarches, the French Maréchal de Saxe suddenly detached his friend the General-count of Lowendal with 35,000 men to lay siege to Bergen-op-Zoom.

Chiefs in Attendance: The ♦*French* were commanded by the Comte de Lowendal[43]. ♦*Anglo-Dutch*: General-Baron de Coustrom

[43] Ulric Frédéric Woldemar, Count of Lowendal (or Loewendahl) and of the Holy Roman Empire, was a French soldier born in Hamburg on April 6, 1700 and died in Paris on May 27, 1755. Of Danish origin, from the House of Holstein-Gottorp and the royal branch of Denmark, son of a Grand Marshal of the Polish court, Lowendal served at the age of thirteen in the Danish army against the Swedes. He then fought in the imperial army against the Turks under Prince Eugene of Savoy (17161718), against the Spanish in Italy (1719), against the French on the Rhine (1734) and in the Russian army against the Turks (1739) and against the Swedes (17411743). The Marshal of Saxony brought him to France and had him appointed lieutenant-general (1 September 1743). He distinguished himself at the Battle of Fontenoy where he commanded the reserve and charged the English column at the head of the Normandy Brigade. He then took Ghent and several places in the Netherlands. In 1747, the capture of Berg-op-Zoom – a place reputed to be impregnable and which he managed to reduce in two months – earned him the dignity of Marshal of France (17 September 1747). He was made an honorary member of the Royal Academy of Sciences on 19 May 1754 and

[or Cromstrom], governor of Brabant, assumed command of the fortress, seconded by the Prince of Hesse-Philipstadt.

Troops engaged ♦*Anglo-Dutch*: The garrison was Dutch; but within it, two battalions of the Scot Brigade were fighting in the service of Holland[44]. The garrison consisted of 6 large battalions supported by 18 others in the lines, with 250 pieces of artillery; a total of 14,000 men, 10% of whom were British. A Scottish regiment: *The Royal Scotsman,* fought in the French army.

Strategy or Tactics: The city was nicknamed the Maid [la Pucelle], because it was, with a bastion so named, an inviolate place, impregnable by its fortifications, by the surrounding marshes which prevented it from being fully invested and by the fact that it had a communication that could not be cut off with the outside. During the siege, the soldiers of the garrison received a bounty for each French gabion they brought back after a sortie or by carrying out night raids at the risk of their lives. The English historian Grant wrote, not without irony, that "*some Scots earned 10 crowns a day from these bounties. Those who performed even more dangerous feats, such as removing the detonator from a burning bomb when it fell in the city, were rewarded with a large sum of 10 or 12 ducats.*" Bergen-op-Zoom was the most powerful fortress in Dutch Brabant. She had never been taken and thus enjoyed a prejudice, a halo, an invincibility. Thus, the eyes of all Europe were fixed on this siege. This fortress was located on an eminence, in the middle of a marshy area, 3 km from the eastern branch of the Scheldt. The

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was its vice-president in 1755. He was made a knight of the Order of the Holy Spirit on February 2, 1746. He died in 1755 as a result of a poorly treated wound.

[44] During the Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, 22 July 16 September 1747 by the French, the garrison was Anglo-Dutch. It consisted of 6 large battalions supported by 18 other battalions of Infantry of the Line, with 250 pieces of artillery; a total of 14,000 men, 10% of whom were British. A Scottish regiment: *The Royal Scotsman,* fought (volunteers) in the besiegers French army. but within the besieged garison, two battalions of the Scot Brigade were fighting in the service of Holland. Later these battalions became the British 94th Regiment. They were leased to Holland by the British Government.

city communicated with this river by a navigable canal. By its strategic position, Bergen was an avenue between Holland and Zeeland[45], and allowed the Dutch to come to Brabant at their convenience. City[46] had a population of 5,000 inhabitants.

Summary of the action: Lowendal started the siege of the fortress on July 22. It was a regular siege of two months which earned the General de Lowendal the marshal's baton. To defend Bergen-op-Zoom, all the allied troops of Brabant were concentrated; including Lord Loudon's new Highlanders Regiment[47], which had just fought at Culloden against the Catholic Scots and participated to the extermination of Catholics. Lowendal had the siege approaches vigorously executed. On July 14, the French batteries opened fire. The batteries of the fortress replied with great density. From July 15 to September 17, the siege was carried out without any remission and the loss of human life was terrible, especially among the French[48], the besiegers. In the meantime, 50 pieces of artillery and 24 large mortars had rained down an incessant hail of iron on the fortress. Some cannonballs had been white-hot in order to set fire to the houses. "The French executed their advance with the greatest intrepidity; but were counter-attacked by frequent “sorties” which repulsed them and ruined their works[49]. Of one of these attacks, on 25 July, the *Gazette de La Haye* wrote that: "Lord Loudon's Highlanders, who were posted at Fort Rours in order to cover the lines of Bergen-op-Zoom, made a “saillie” [a sortie], sword in hand. They were so successful that they destroyed the enemy's great battery, and killed so many French soldiers that Comte de Lowendal had the drum beaten to demand a truce for the burial of the dead.

[45] Two from the so-called Netherlands.
[46] The village, we should say.
[47] A Protestant clan that became *the Black Watch Regiment*. It was made up of Scots from the Campbell clan who had defected to the English army before the Battle of Culloden.
[48] Lowendal knew that his friend the Maréchal de Saxe would give him the marshal's baton if he conducted this siege smoothly.
[49] Wrote an English historian.

But he was told that if he had attacked the place according to the rules of war, his request would certainly have been satisfied; *but as since he had begun the siege like an incendiary by setting fire to the city with his white-hot cannonballs, the decision had been taken not to ask for or grant any suspension of arms*." Thus the dead of the three nations had to remain on the battlefield for nearly two months, for some, in the place where they had fallen. The Englishman Smollett related that the siege was a continual theatre of horror and destruction. Desperate *sorties* (attacks)were made by the Anglo-Dutch. French mines were exploding with devastating effects. The city was reduced to ashes. The trenches and no man's land, between the lines and fortifications, were covered with rotting corpses and bloodstains. All we could see was flames and fire. Nothing could be heard but the continuous roar of bombs. The Casualties were enormous on both sides. *But the Comte de Lowendal wanted to prove himself as a promising general-in-chief.* His friend the French Maréchal de Saxe had given him the opportunity and he did not want to miss the chance of a lifetime. On 7 September, the French captured the Lunette de Zeeland at the cost of an incredible effort and enormous casualties. They also reach the lunette d'Utrecht. They had reduced to rubble the greater part of the counterscarp in front of the attacked sector, and blown up a portion of the main gallery.

The Anglo-Dutch garrison was so alarmed that General Swartzenburg, who commanded an army corps at Oudenbosch, entered the town to evaluate the means of defense. On this occasion, there were more mine explosions[50] and loss of life than on any other. The French mines were constantly countermined by the garrison, and on one occasion 700 men were blown up and vanished

[50] Mines were not, as they are today, buried or floating bombs. In the 18th century, mines were tunnels, dug under a fortification, and stuffed with gunpowder. The explosion destroyed the fortifications or barracks located above. The counter-mines were tunnels that tried to reach the mines, and hellish fighting took place in total darkness.

in a fraction of a second. To counter-mine, the garrison dug a mine shaft in the direction of the vibrations that indicated the presence of a tunnel dug by the besiegers. When, at the intensity of the pick-axe blows, the besieged felt that the enemy gallery was near, they piled up gunpowder and blew it all up. The day after this killing of 700 men, the French unmasked four new batteries on the front of attack. The first on the chemin-couvert [covered-way], near the left of the Utrecht Bastion; four of its 6 cannons fired on the right flank of the Bastion de Guillaume and two on the right face of La Pucelle [the *Maid*]. The second battery, located on the right face of Dedem's ravelin, fired on the orillons[51] of Cohorn's Bastion where it destroyed several guns and killed many artillerymen. The next day, the French erected three new batteries: two on the covered path and one in the ruins of the Bastion of Zeeland. The garrison also erected a battery on the Bastion of Holland. The exchange of cannonballs was so dense that, for hours, the trenches and the city were completely obscured by smoke. On the 14th of September, several breaches were practicable in the fortifications, and particularly a large one in the ravelin of Dedem. That night, the garrison, full of apprehension, made a sortie through this breach in order to nail the French guns that had made it. But they were repulsed by the French with enormous losses. During the night of the 16th, the Comte de Lowendal decided that the time for the final assault had arrived.

At four o'clock in the morning on September 16, preparation for the French assault began; a mine exploded in front of Dedem's ravelin, a large quantity of bombs fell, and all the batteries went into action at the same time. In the meantime, 50 companies of Grenadiers, supported by 16 battalions of Infantry, jumped into the ditch, and, after cutting off the communications between the outer works

[51] Orillon, n.m., of ear, a rounded block of masonry, at the shoulder angle of a bastion. It is also written *orrillon*.

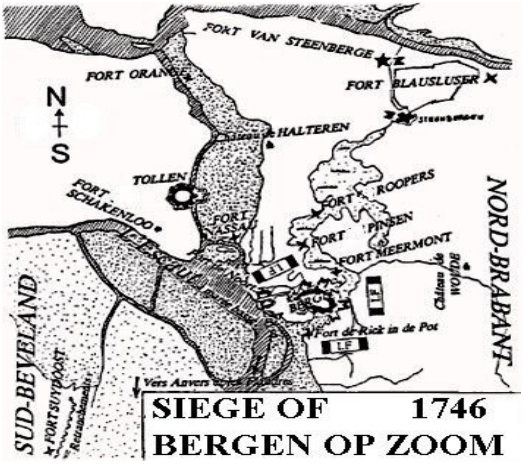
and the town, attacked the Ravelin of Dedem from the breach, while others attacked it from another angle. The French were soon masters of the breach. They then rushed with bayonets through the door through which the Allies were making their projections. Some units scaled the walls with assault-ladders, and entered the city through narrow breaches made by French artillery in the Bastion of La Pucelle and in that of Cohorn; they soon took possession of these works. Everywhere the Anglo-Dutch recoiled before the bayonets; it was so fast that the French found themselves in position inside the city walls before the entire garrison was under arms. Many Anglo-Allied soldiers arrived in their nightgowns or pajamas with their weapons. Gradually, these allies were ventilated to various hot spots from where they were immediately dislodged [and killed] by the French bayonets. The fight began from street to street, from house to house. Some houses were taken and retaken several times, while the dead piled up and obstructed the doors and stairs. The British brigade assembled in the market place and attacked the *French en masse* in that street, driving them back a few blocks; then the French counter-attacked and drove back the Scots, who were almost entirely exterminated: of the 1,450 men of the brigade, only 330 soon remained, who surrendered and were taken prisoners. They were deported to France. After a siege of almost two months, the city was in French hands.

Casualties ♦Losses were enormous on both sides; 7,000 men were killed or wounded on each side.

As a consequence of this Anglo-Allied defeat, Europe was stunned to see that Bergen-op-Zoom had fallen. The city was immediately plundered by the French. The soldiers, exasperated by the stubborn resistance, robbed, raped, and massacred. It was a real rage in which everyone participated, even the commanders. In France, a cry of horror was uttered. The adversaries of Maréchal Maurice de Saxe exploited these crimes committed by his friend the comte de

Lowendal. But Madame de Pompadour, mistress of King Louis XV, defended her friend, the French Maréchal de Saxe, and had the baton de maréchal conferred on Lowendal. The capture, by coup de main of the French, of *the Fort du Lilo* ended the land campaign of 1747, on October 12.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦ Plan de l'attaque fait à Bergen op Zoom, par les François, conduitte par le Maréchal Comte de Lowendal et deffendue par le Général Baron de Cronstrom" (in 1747), 1747. Ulrich Friedrich Woldemar comte von Lowendhal, Historisch dagverhaal van het belegeren, beschieten, en bestormen van de sterke vesting en stad Bergen op Zoom door den Fransche Generaal de Graaf Woldemar van Löwendahl, etc., (Vervolg van het Historisch dagverhaal, etc.), [for German speakers], 1747. ♦Relation de la campagne en Brabant et en Flandres, de l"an MDCCXLVII, Avec les plans de la bataille de Lawfeld, & de l"attaque de la ville de BergopZoom, La Haye, 1748. A new plan of the town and fortifications of BergenopZoom with the adjacent forts, facing Southampton Street in the Strand, M.Overton, over against Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, non daté, probablement1747?. Dumoulin, Réflexions sur les environs de Maestricht ou mémoires instructifs sur les campagnes de 1747 et 1748 qui prouvent évidemment que la bataille de Lawffelt n'est venue que par les mouvements déplacés des deux partis . ♦Journal du siège de Berg-op-Zoom, avec des réflexions militaires, Imprimerie de Grangé, Paris, 1756. 2 tomes.



Priv-Coll.

Siege of Bruges

Date of the action: 14-18 July 1745.

Location: Brugge in Flanders, Belgium. Geographical coordinates: 51°13' north latitude, and 03°14' east longitude. [See the toponymic map of Flanders located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend, from 10 to 23 August 1745]

Background: On 11 July, the inhabitants of Bruges learned that Ghent had just been taken by the French. The municipal magistrate asked the commander of arms, Comte La Laing, to fortify the city. The latter replied that he was under the orders of the Duke of Cumberland and that, according to orders, the garrison would leave the city as soon as the French approached, which happened on 14 July. In the meantime, the municipality had mobilized the Civic Guard and had the artillery prepared.

Strategy or Tactics: There was no fighting. The morale of the English had been greatly shaken by their defeat at Fontenoy. On the orders of their commander-in-chief, the English garrison abandoned the city as the French approached. Bruges was a srongly fortified city, entirely encircled by water and canals.

Summary of the action: On 16 July, the first French soldiers were reported at Sint-Michiels. The water in the moat was kept as high as possible. Two days later, on July 18, French troops arrived in front of St. Catherine's Gate [Katelijnepoort]. The English garrison having abandoned the city, the people of Bruges negotiated a

capitulation and opened their gates to the French forces on the same day. The French entered by the Ghent Gate.

Casualties ♦There were no casualties, no fighting. The city capitulated after the hasty departure of the English garrison.

As a consequence of this Anglo-Allied defeat, Flanders gradually became French.

Bruges Tower, which was once part of the city fortification system. Priv.Coll.

SOURCES & FURTHER READINGS ♦Jacques Victor Albert duc de Broglie, *Histoire de la politique extérieure de Louis XV*, Paris, 1899. ♦D'Illens & Funck, *Plans et Journaux des sièges de la dernière guerre de Flandres, rassemblés par deux capitaines étrangers au service de la France*, Strasbourg, 1750. ♦Acte royal du 23 juillet 1745, Au camp de Bost], *Lettre à Mgr. l'archevesque de Paris [pour lui mander de faire chanter le Te Deum dans son diocèse, en action de grâces de la prise de Bruges et d'Oudenarde],* sans nom de publication.

Battle of Cap-Enragé.

Date of the action : November 15, 1750.

Location : Acadia[52]. In Waterside on Chignecto Bay, New Brunswick, Canada. Geographical coordinates: 45°67' north latitude and 64°09' west longitude.

Conflict : Official peace between France and England, the War of the Austrian Succession [17401748] having ended. Colonial rivalries in Acadia.

Background : The French and English were at peace, but guerrilla warfare was raging in the territories ceded to the English by the Treaty of Utrecht.

Chefs in attendance ♦*French*: Michaud d'Amboise[53]. ♦*English*: Captain Cox[54].

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[52] Present-day Canadian Nova Scotia.

[53] Michau (i.e. Michel, son of Barthélémy) d'Amboise (known by the nickname of Bergeron d'Amboise).

[54] Nicholas Cox, colonial officer and administrator; b. about 1724 in England; d. 8 Jan. 1794 at Quebec. Nicholas Cox joined the 58th Regiment of Foot in 1741 as an ensign and served in the Catholic rebellion in Scotland four years later. In 1750 his regiment (now the 47th Foot) was sent to Nova Scotia, where Cox took part in the capture of Fort Beauséjour (near Sackville, N.B.) and the deportation of the Acadians in 1755. He also served at the siege of Louisbourg, Île Royale (Cape Breton Island), in 1758 and at Quebec the following year. In 1764 he had obtained the rank of captain and then the post of lieutenant-governor of Gaspé, which was not a very high position in the administrative hierarchy. In 1787, Bonaventure Island was granted to him. Cox was also a colonel in the Gaspé militia and a member of the district land board. He died in the line of duty in January 1794.

[54] New name for the former French Acadia. At that time, the English were trying to empty Scotland of its native Catholic population and to repopulate this territory with Anglo-Protestants. All Scottish cultural traits, bagpipes, kilts, language... were then banned in Scotland. Scottish populations were sent to Acadia, and, the name changed; this territory became more inviting to the Scots. British

Troops engaged ♦*French*: 5 sailors, then about thirty men. ♦*English*: 30 soldiers and 6 cannons.

Strategy or Tactics : Chase and then cannonade. Each military action of this guerrilla war did not have serious consequences, but the whole created a climate of uncertainty that forced the English authorities in Nova Scotia[55] to maintain strong garrisons and thus to immobilize regular troops.

Summary of the Action: On or about November 15, Captain Cox, who commanded an English ship armed with 6 guns and 30 soldiers of the Gorham unit, was crossing Cape Enragé Strait at Beaubassin, when his crew noticed a long boat coming out of the Petitcodiac River. This boat, commanded by Michaud d'Amboise, was sailing for Saint-Jean. Captain Cox, who happened to be cruising in this area with his ship, immediately set out in pursuit. The chase lasted all day. Around 4:00 p.m. the boat was forced to throw itself on the shore at Cap-des-Demoiselles[56] on the coast of Chipoudy. The English ship cannonaded it and then sent 20 men, forcing the 5 French sailors, who were on board, to abandon it. They retreated, firing on the English. The English found on board a sail, an anchor, and a cable, besides the cargo. Monsieur de Baurans, an officer in the Louisbourg troops, commanded the post of Chipoudy, 9 km away. As soon as he was warned of the attack, he took 30 Acadians and lay in ambush all night near the boat, hoping that the English would return. The French tied the boat securely to the shore and lightened it so that it began to float. Cox became aware of the arrival of this French detachment by the noise he made. He ordered a cannon to be fired in the dark, but without effect. At

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Columbia was also called New Caledonia [i.e., Nova Scotia] for the same reason. Other Scottish populations were later offered large concessions in Manitoba, which was then owned by the Hudson's Bay Company and was already populated by French Métis.

[55] Today The Rocks.

dawn the fire was resumed on the French detachment, but no one was injured because they were protected by a dike. At about 4:00 p.m., after attempting to land a detachment in two armed canoes containing 12 to 15 soldiers each, and after being repulsed three times by the French, Cox decided to weigh anchor and abandon his prey, the boat, which had in fact become bait.

Casualties ♦unknown.

Aftermath of this battle: The cargo of the French barque was recovered by the French Acadians. It consisted of 20 barrels of wheat flour and a barrel of pork belonging to the army. This stock was to be distributed on Saint-Ours' orders to Acadians who had not been able to harvest their crops because they had had to take service in the French army at Chipoudy and Beauséjour. They had therefore lost everything and would have perished if they had not been helped, according to the promises of Monsieur de La Corne, in proportion to their losses; a promise which, moreover, was only partially kept, as far as possible.

SOURCES & FURTHER READINGS Antoine Bernard, *Le drame acadien depuis 1604*, Les clercs de SaintViateur, Montréal, 1936. ♦Bona ARSENAULT, *Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens*, 6 vol. Tome 1 : *Histoire des Acadiens,* tome 2 : *Port Royal,* tome 3 : *Beaubassin,* Lemeac, Montréal, 1978. ♦Henri d'Arles, *La tragédie acadienne,* Action française, Montréal, 1919. ♦Dudley LeBlanc, *The true story of the Acadians*, Lafayette, Louisiane, 1932. ♦Sir Arthur George Doughty, *The Acadian exiles; a chronicle of the land of Evangeline*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1964. ♦Léon Ville, *En Acadie; Le martyre d'un peuple*, Tolra, Paris, 1927.

Cap Enragé, at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy. Photo Google.

Naval battle off Cape Finisterre

Date of the action: May 3, 1747.

Location: Cabo Finisterre or Cabo Ortegal, in the northwest of Spain, region of the province of Galicia. Geographical coordinates of the Spanish Cape: 42°53' North & 09°16' West.

Conflict: War of the Austrian Succession [1740-1748].

Context: According to the English Historian William Laird Clows, in 1747, "France fitted out two considerable squadrons; one under the Marquis de La Jonquière, intended for the recovery of Cape Breton, and the other under Monsieur Grou de St.Georges, of the *Compagnie Française des Indes Orientales*, for the conquest of British territory on the coast of Coromandel... The projects of the French were known in England; and a squadron, under Vice-Admiral George Anson and Rear-Admiral Peter Warren, was specially fitted out to checkmate them. "The forces which were ultimately opposed one to the other are set forth in the note. The French had with them a convoy of indiamen (ships), which brought the total number of their sail up to 38. Monsieur de St-Georges left Groix in March, but, after suffering some losses from British cruisers and from very bad weather, had to put into the road of Isle d'Aix. La Jonquière there joined him and the two finally sailed on April 29th. Anson and Warren had left England on April 9th and had proceeded off Cape Finisterre, where, on May 3rd, the Cape bearing SE, distant 96^{km}, they sighted the French. La Jonquière thereupon caused 12 of his best ships to shorten sail and form a line of battle ahead, while the rest stretched to the westward and crowded every

possible stich of canvas. Anson also made signal for a line of battle, believing apparently that he was in the presence of a more formidable squadron than was really before him; but, at Warren instance, he substituted the signal for a general chase[57]."

In early May 1747, a Royal Navy squadron came upon a French convoy of troop transports, escorted by the Marine Royale.

Military Commanders involved ●*French*: Marquis de La Jonquière[58] and Monsieur de Saint-Georges. ●*English*: Admiral Anson and Sir Peter Warren.

MARINE ROYALE	ROYAL NAVY
1●L'INVINCIBLE 74 Capt St.Georges 2●Le SÉRIEUX 64 adm de La Jonquière 3● Le JASON 50 Capt. Beccart 4●Le GLOIRE 40 Capt.La Jonquière de Taffanel. Frigates-flutes-indiamen (navires de commerce de la Cie des Indes françaises), Le DIAMANT 30, frigate, Le RUBIS flûte, Le VIGILANT 20 (indiaman), Le CHIMÈNE 36 (indiaman), L'APOLLON 30 (Indiaman), Le THÉTIS 22 (indiaman), Le MODESTE, 18, (indiaman), L'ÉMERAUDE 40 (indiaman), Le DARMOUTH 18 (Engl. Prize corvette), Le PHILIBERT 30 (indiaman)[59].	1●PRINCE-GEORGE 90 V/Adm Anson 2●DEVONSHIRE 66 V/Admiral Warren 3●NAMUR 74 Capt Boscawen 4●MONMOUTH 64 Capt. Harrison 5●PRINCE-FREDERICK 64 Capt. Norris 6●YARMOUTH 64 Capt. Piercy Brett 7●PRINCESS-LOUISA 60 Capt. Watson 8●NOTTINGHAM 60 Capt Saumarez 9●DEFIANCE 60 Capt. Grenville 10●PEMBROKE 60 Capt. Fincher 11●WINDSOR 60 Capt. Hanway 12●CENTURION 50 Capt. Denis 13●FALKLAND 50 Capt Barradel 14●BRISTOL 50 Capt W.Montagu 15●AMBUSCADE 40 Capt John Montagu The FALCON 10 Commander Gwynn The VULCAN 8 fireship, Capt Pettigrew
Total: 5 warships including 4 ships-of-the-line + merchantmen of the Compagnie des Indes.	Total: 17 warships including 15 ships-of-the-line, 1 corvette and 1 fireship.

[57] ●Clowes, Vol.3, p124 ff.

[58] La Jonquière de Taffanel, age 75 (!) His war-hungry and glory-hungry nobility certainly did not aspire to retirement at 55 and a 35-hour work week. He fought in Canada where the town named after him is located in Sagueney-Lac-Saint-Jean.

[59] Indiamen from the *Compagnie des Indes* or French East-India Co.

Military Forces involved ●*Marine Royale*: 5 ships of the line [escort], 6 frigates and about twenty troop and logistic transports, including Le RUBIS [20 sur 50], L'INVINCIBLE [74 guns] and Le GLOIRE [44 guns]. The entire French squadron totaled only 344 guns and 2819 sailors and soldiers of [the] Marine. One of the French flutes, le flute RUBIS, was commanded by an Irishman named MacArthy. ●*Royal Navy*: the English squadron consisted of 17 warships (15 of the line and 2 smaller vessels.) In all, a little over 1,000 guns and 8,000 sailors and foot soldiers of the Navy. The PRINCE-GEORGE was the flagship. The Rear Admiral of the White, Sir Peter Warren, had hoisted his mark on the 66-gun DEVONSHIRE. The English squadron also included large vessels such as The NAMUR, The YARMOUTH, The DEFIANCE, The PEMBROKE, The WINDSOR, The CENTURION and The BRISTOL.

Strategy or Tactics; The 5 ships of the Marine Royale sustained a hard fight in parallel lines against the 17 warships of the Royal Navy. The French escort blocked the way to let the logistic convoy escape. The maneuver was successful. "The French had with them a [troop] convoy, which brought the total number of their sail up to thirty-eight. M. de St. Georges left Groix in March... La Jonquière there joined him and the two finally sailed on April 29th. Anson and Warren had left England on April 9th, and had proceeded off Cape Finisterre, where, on May 3rd, the Cape bearing S.E.. distant 24 leagues, they sighted the French. La Jonquière thereupon caused 12 of his best ships to shorten sail and form a line of battle ahead, while the rest stretched to the westward and crowded every possible stich of canvas. Anson also made signal for a line of battle... but. At Warren's insistence, he substituted the signal for a general chase. La Jonquière was but ill-supported. Several of the French East India ships, especially Le VIGILANT and Le MODESTE, and later Le THÉTIS and L'APOLLON, looked to nothing but the idea of saving themselves. It is useless to examine the tactical details of an action of this kind. Suffice to say, that,

after a running fight lasting from 4 p.m. to 7 pm, in which several of the French captains behaved with great courage, and others[60] just tried to save themselves, all the ships which had remained in the French line fought fiercely. At 7 pm, Anson brought to, and detached The MONMOUTH, YARMOUTH and NOTTINGHAM in pursuit of the convoy, which then bore W. by S.W., distant about five leagues, and which had been followed and onserved during the action by the FALCON. The ships captured Le VIGILANT, Le MODESTE and Le DARTMOUTH, one a British captured ship, together with six of the convoy. Night saved the rest[61]."

Summary of the action: On May 3, 1747, upon sighting the English squadron, the French escort placed itself in line of battle, lowered its sails and opened the gun ports, while the transports accompanied by the frigate and other smaller ships continued their course by increasing their sails. Guessing that the French ships of the line, too few in number, wished only to block the path of the English in order to allow the convoy to pass, Sir Peter Warren asked Admiral Anson to bring up the signals indicating the pitched battle and to hoist those indicating the *chase of the convoy*. Warren's suggestion was immediately followed. The English squadron abandoned the line of battle, parallel to that of the French, and stalled all sail, pursued in turn by the French ships of the escort.

Around 4:00 p.m., the English ships arrived within gun range of the French logistic convoy. Then, the French escort threw themselves on the English ships to force them to fight and the combat began, fierce and deadly. "The French fought with equal conduct and valour," wrote an English historian[62] . In fact, the battle did not cease until the French warships, which were fighting 4 to 17, were

[60] ●The commercial ships of the *Compagnie des Indes*.
[61] ●William Laird Clowes, The Royal Navy, A History from the Earliest Times to the Present, Sampson Low, Marston and Company, London, 1897; in 5 Volumes, Vol. 3, pp.124 ff.
[62] Grant, see *in fine*

crushed under the number. Having lost a third of their numbers, as 700 men had been put out of action, they were overwhelmed by the English on board. The latter, themselves, had suffered equally high Casualties[63].

The French escort being neutralized, the English admiral detached several fast ships in pursuit of the French transports which had, of course, taken to sea. The MONMOUTH [64 guns], the YARMOUTH [64] and the NOTTINGHAM [60]. But they only managed to capture a few ships that were too slow. All the others were able to escape.

Casualties & Losses ●*Marine Royale*: 700 killed, wounded and prisoners. ●*Royal Navy*: about 700 killed and wounded. According to Clowes [Vol. 3, p.126] "the battle, considering its nature, was a costly one. The French lost about 700 killed and wounded, and the British, 520."

Consequence of this battle: The French escort had sacrificed itself to save the convoy, its mission was accomplished. The French therefore consider this battle as a victory. The English, who, although much more numerous, had managed to subdue only the convoy's escort, claimed victory as well.

As he presented his sword to Admiral Anson, Monsieur de Saint-Georges, who did not seem too upset by the outcome of the battle, wanted to make a pun: "Monsieur," he said, "you have defeated The INVINCIBLE and GLORY follows you[64]! It is true that if in the Royal Navy a defeated admiral was systematically court-martialed at the risk of his life, in the Marine Royale, whose

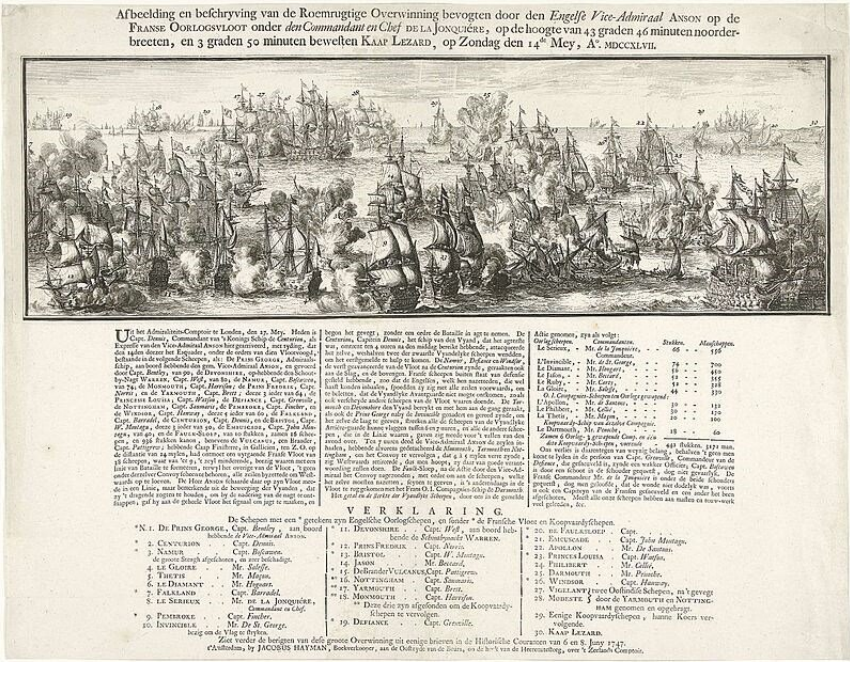
[63] Although Smollet admitted only 500.
[64] Le GLOIRE had received a crew from the English prize.

Captains were all aristocrats, the powerful families protected their offspring, even if they behaved badly.

For this great deed, Admiral Anson became a peer of Great-Britain, England having now become Great-Britain, after having indirectly annexed Scotland and Wales[65].

Sources & Further Reading ●The account of the action is based upon the British and French dispatches, and especially upon the papers of La Jonquière in the *Archives de la Marine*, and upon the report of Moïse Antoine Louis Boisseau de La Galernerie. ●Le chef d'escadre Marquis de La Jonquière, gouverneur général de la Nouvelle-France et du Canada de 1749 à 1752, Camille de Taffanel marquis de La Jonquière, Garnier Frères, Paris, 1 896. ●Le marquis de La Jonquière. Gouverneur-Général du Canada, Louis Duval, Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne, E. Renaut-de-Broise, Alençon, 1862. ●The life of George Lord Anson, admiral of the fleet, vice-admiral of Great Britain and first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, previous to, and during, the Seven-Years War, Sir John Barrow, Editions J. Murray, London, 1839. ●William Laird Clowes, The Royal Navy, A History from the Earliest Times to the Present, Sampson Low, Marston and Company, London, 1897; in 5 Volumes, Vol. 3, pp.124 ff.

[65] Wales had already been annexed by Henry VIII in 1536.



Afbeelding en beschryving van de Roemrugtige Overwinning bevogten door den *Engelsse Vice-Admiraal* ANSON op de FRANSE OORLOGSVLOOT onder *den Commandant en Chef* DE LA JONQUIÈRE, op de hoogte van 43 graden 46 minuten noorderbreeten, en 3 graden 50 minuten bewesten KAAP LEZARD, op Zondag den 14de Mey, A^{o}. MDCCXLVII.

UIt het Admiraliteits-Comptoir te Londen, den 17. Mey. Heden is Capt. *Denis*, Commandant van 's Koonings Schip *de Gouverne*, als Expresse van den Vice-Admiraal ANSON hier gearriveerd, met tydinge, dat den 14den dezer het Escquader, onder de ordres van dien Vice-vooogd, bestaande in de volgende Schepen, als: DE PRINS GEORGE, Admiraalschip, aan boord hebbende den gem. VICE-ADMIRAAL ANSON, en geroerd door Capt. *Bentley*, van 90, de DEVONSHIRE, opbehelende den Schouthy-Nacht WARREN, Capt. *Hyde*, van 80, de NASSAU, Capt. *Rejkeson*, van 74, de MONMOUTH, Capt. *Harrelson*; de PRINS FREDERIK, Capt. *Norris*, en de YARMOUTH, Capt. *Brett*; diezen 3 ieder van 64; de PRINCESSE LOUISA, Capt. *Watson*, de DEFIANCE, Capt. *Grenville*, de NOTTINGHAM, Capt. *Saumarez*, de PEMBROKE, Capt. *Fowler*, en de WINDSOR, Capt. *Hawsey*, diezen 4 ieder van 60, de FALKLAND, Capt. *Barrodel*, de CENTURION, Capt. *Dennis*, en de BRISTOL, Capt. *W. Montagu*, diezen 3 ieder van 50, de EMPEDOCLES, Capt. *John Montagu*, van 40, en de FALMOUDSHIP, van 20 stukken, zamen 18 schepen, en 956 stukken kanon, benevens de VULCANUS, een Brander, Capt. *Partington*; hebbende Capt Faulkner, in faillisiet, met *Z. G.* op de distante van 24 mylen, had ontmoet een vyfgaende Fransse Vloot van 15 schepen, want van 70 à 74 royal stukkenmis, bestig waarm meteen laat van Batallie te formeren, nevens het overige van de Vloot, 't geen onder dezen tyd, door de Contrarie Winden, niet kon bysteunen van Westwaards op te loeven. De Heer ANSON, hadde dan bysteunen van de 3 Schepen, die de Vloot meede in een Linie, maar bemerkende van de bewegingen der Fransen, dat zy 't drogende zeggen te bouden, om ter de ondering van de stagt trans doopen, gaf by aan de geheele Vloot het signaal om jagt te maken, en begon het gevegt; zonder een order de Batallie in agt te nemen. De Contrarie, Capitein *Dennis*, het schip van den Vyand, dat het agterste was, omvoer ten 4 uoren na den middag beneke hebbende, attaqueerde het zelve, wetshalven twee der zwarrste Vyandelyke schepen wendden, om het eerstgemelde te hulp te komen. De *Nassau*, *Defiance en Windsor*, de verst pousuiverende van de Vloot na de *Contrarie* zynde, geraakten ook aan de slag, en de bovengen. Franse schepen buiten staat van defensie gebracht hebbende, zoo dat de Engelsen, welk hen nazetteden, die wel hadt konden inhalen, spoedden zy zig met alle zeilen voorwaards, om te helpen, die de Vyandelyke Avantgarde niet meyne overkomen. 2de zoo verdrevyde andere schepen van de Vloot waren doende. De *Yarmouth en Devonshire* den Vyand bestykt en met hen aan de gang geraakt, als ook de *Prins George* mitsy de zeemanlyke gemoeten en geroerd zynde, om het zelve de laag te gooien, doukten alle de schepen van de Vyandelyke Avantgarde hoeve vluggen naslaan fey nuere, en alle de andere schepen, die in de Linie waaren, geven zig meede voor 't zeilen van den zeeuw over. Ten 7 uoren deed de Vice-admiraal ANSON de zeylen inhaalen, hebbende zeveren geëntamiteerd de *Monmouth*, *Yarmouth Nottingham*, om het Convoy te vervolgen, dat 4 à 5 mylen verre zynde, zig Westwaards uitstrekte, dat men hoopte, zy *Saint* van goede vrouwe wonding zullen doen. De *Fault*-Sloep, aan de Afrie door den Vice-Admiraal het Convoy nagezonden, met zeilen om aan de schepen, welke het zelve moesten nazetten, zyuen te geeven, is 's ondenmiddags in de Vloot te zuygekomen met het Fransche O. I. Compagnies-Schip *de Dunmark*

Hier geteld en de Lasten van 8 Fransche Schepen, daar een in de geweldige Actie genomen, zyn als volgt:

Our'ge Schepen.	Commandanten.	Stukken.	Manschappen.
Le Serieux, -	Mr. *de la Jonquière*, Commandant, - -	66 - -	556
L'Invincible, -	Mr. *St. George*, - -	74 - -	700
Le Diamant, -	Mr. *Hougart*, - -	60 - -	460
Le Jason, - -	Mr. *Bouvard*, - -	64 - -	465
Le Ruby, - -	Mr. *Corny*, - -	64 - -	348
La Gloire, -	Mr. *Salisse*, - -	64 - -	320
O. I. Compagnies-Schepen van Our'ge gezagvoerd.			
L'Apollon, -	Mr. *de Sanous*, - -	50 - -	132
Le Philbert, -	Mr. *Colin*, - -	50 - -	130
La Thetis, -	Mr. *Mayen*, - -	50 - -	130
Koopvaardy-Schip van zeeuwse Compagnie.			
Le Dunmark,	Mr. *Pomelet*, - -	18 - -	60
Zamen 8 Our'ge- 3 gezagvoerde Comp. en 1 van zeeuwse		446 stukken.	3472 man.

Ons verlies is dusanmeyen van weynig belang, behalven 't geen men kosten te lyden in de persoon van Capt. *Grenville*, Commandeur van de *Defiance*, die gebleuvelt is, zynde een wakker Officier, Capt. *Bulkeyen* in deze een schoot in de schouder gequest, dog niet geveerdyk. De Fransse Commandeur Mr. *de la Jonquière* is onder de beide schouders gequest, dog men gelooftte, dat de wonde zeer dodelyk was, voorts is ook een Capitein van de Fransen gelooveelt en een onder het been afgeschoten. Moest alle onze schepen hebben aan masten en rouw-werk wel gelooten, &c.

VERKLARING.

De Schepen met een * getekent zyn Engelsche Oorlogs-Schepen, en sonder * de Franse Vloot en Koopvaardy-schepen.

*N. 1. DE PRINS GEORGE, Capt. *Bentley*, aan boord hebbende *de Vice-Admiraal* ANSON.
* 2. CENTURION . . Capt. *Dennis*.
* 3. NASSAU . . Capt. *Rickerson*.
de groote strength afgeslooten, en zeer beschadigt.
4. LE GLOIRE . . Mr. *Salisse*.
5. THETIS . . Mr. *Mayen*.
6. LE DIAMANT . . Mr. *Hougart*.
* 7. FALKLAND . . Capt. *Barrodel*.
8. LE SERIEUX . . Mr. DE LA JONQUIÈRE, *Commandant en Chef*.
* 9. PEMBROKE . . Capt. *Fowler*.
10. INVINCIBLE . . Mr. *De St. George*.
bezig om de Vlag te strijken.
* 11. DEVONSHIRE . . Capt. *Hyde*, aan boord hebbende *de Schouthy-nacht* WARREN.
* 12. PRINS FREDERIK . . Capt. *Norris*.
* 13. BRISTOL . . Capt. *W. Montagu*.
14. JASON . . Mr. *Bouvard*.
* 15. DEBRANDER VULCANUS, Capt. *Partington*.
** 16. NOTTINGHAM . . Capt. *Saumarez*.
** 17. YARMOUTH . . Capt. *Brett*.
** 18. MONMOUTH . . Capt. *Harrelson*.
** Deze drie zyn afgeslooten om de Koopvaardy-schepen te vervolgen.
* 19. DEFIANCE . . Capt. *Grenville*.
* 20. DE FAULKELOEP . . Capt. . . .
* 21. EMCUSCADE . . Capt. *John Montagu*.
22. APOLLON . . Mr. *De Sanous*.
* 23. PRINCES LOUISA . . Capt. *Watson*.
24. PHILIBERT . . Mr. *Colin*.
25. DARMOUTH . . Mr. *Pomelet*.
* 26. WINDSOR . . Capt. *Hawsey*.
27. VIGILANT, twee Oostindische Schepen, na 't gevegt
28. MODESTE } door de YARMOUTH en NOTTINGHAM genomen en opgebrengt.
29. Eenige Koopvaardyschepen, hunne Koers vervolgende.
30. KAAP LEZARD.

Ziet verder de berigten van deze groote Overwinning uit eenige brieven in de Hilversche Couranten van 6 en 8. Juny 1747.

t'Amsterdam, by JACOBUS HAYMAN, Boekverkooper, aan de Oostzyde van de Beurs, op de hoek van de Heerenstraat, over 't Zeeland's Comptoir.

Naval Battle off Cabo Finisterra (or Cape Ortegal),

by Romeyn de Hooghe

Priv.Coll

Naval battle off Cape Finisterre.

Date of the action: October 14, 1747.

Location: The battlefield was located off Cabo Finisterra, Spanish Galicia. Geographical coordinates: 42° 53' North latitude and 01° 02' West longitude. Cape Finisterra is located about 50 km West of Santiago de Compostela.

Conflict: War of the Austrian Succession [1740-1748].

Background: On August 9th, Admiral Sir Edward Hawke sailed off Cape Finisterre, northwest of Spain, with a squadron of 14 ships of the line and several frigates, totaling 900 guns and 7200 sailors and soldiers of the [navy]. The flagship was the 66-gun DEVONSHIRE. Its mission was to intercept at the mouth of the Charente a convoy of French merchant ships, coming from the island of Aix and bound for the West Indies, escorted by 8 warships under the command of Monsieur de L'Étanduère.

Military Commanders in command ●*French*: Monsieur de L'Étanduère. ●*English*: rear-admiral Sir Edward Hawke 1705-1781[66].

Military Forces involved ●*English*: 14 ships of the line and several frigates, the whole totaling 900 guns and 7,200 sailors and soldats. ●*French*: 8 warships with 500 cannons and 3,500 sailors

[66] Baron from 1776.

and soldiers. There were no fewer than 252 merchantmen with the French Division.

Strategy or Tactics: Le CASTOR (26) and Le CONTENT (64) were ordered to stay in protection of the huge convoy of 252 transports and merchantmen which tried to escape while the 8 ships of the French division turned around and attacked the English squadron to prevent it from catching up with the convoy, and they succeeded. The French escort interposed. In spite of the disproportion of forces, the gun battle and boarding were extremely sustained by the French, so much so that three of the five French ships were not taken by the English until they were completely dismasted and the other two partially dismasted. The French, much less numerous, had to fight *on both sides*[67], because the English had enveloped them and taken them in battle.

Commenting upon the two battles of 1747 Cape Finisterra, Captain Mahan, US military theorist, says about the two 1747 combats off Cape Finisterra [May 3rd and October 14th] : "Two encounters between English and French squadrons happened during the year 1747... In both cases the English were decidedly superior [at least numerically], and though there was given opportunity for some brilliant fighting by particular captains, and for the display of heroic endurance on the part of the French, greatly outnumbered, but resisting to the last, only one tactical lesson is afforded. This lesson is that, when the enemy, either as the result of battle, or from original inequality, is greatly inferior in force, obliged to fly without standing on the order of his flying, the regard otherwise due to order must be, in a measure at least, dismissed, and a general chase ordered... In both cases [on May 3rd and October 14th, 1747], the signal was made for a general chase, and the action which resulted was a *mêlée*. There was no opportunity for anything else;

[67] On both sides, as at Aboukir, at the end of the same century.

the one thing necessary was to overtake the running enemy, and that could only certainly be done by letting the fastest or best-situated ships get ahead, sure that the speed of the fastest pursuers is better than that of the slowest of the pursued and that, therefore, either the latter must be abandoned, or the whole force brought to bay[68]."

source : Clowes, vol.3 p.127 **Battle of Cape Finisterre** 14 Oct. 1747	
BRITISH FORCES	**FRENCH FORCES**
1-DEVONSHIRE 66 r/adm Hawke	**1**-Le TONNANT 89 comm. de L'Étanduère
2-KENT 74 Capt. Fox	**2**-L'INTRÉPIDE 74 Capt. Vaudreuil
3-EDINBURGH 70 Capt. Thomas Coles	**3**-Le TRIDENT 64 Capt d'Amblimont
4-YARMOUTH 64 Charles	**4**-Le TERRIBLE 74 Capt. du Guay
5-MONMOUTH 64 Capt Henry Harrison	**5**-Le Monarque 74 Capt. La Bédoyère
6-RINCESS-LOUISA 60 Capt Ch. Watson	**6**-Le SÉVÈRE (ou SEVERN) 56 Capt. Rouret
7-WINDSOR 60 Capt Thomas Hanway	**7**-Le FOUGUEUX 64 Capt. de Dromentière
8-The LION 60 Capt Arthur Scott	
9-TILBURY 60 Capt Arthur Scott	
10-NOTTINGHAM 60 Capt Philip Saumarez	
11-DEFIANCE 60 Capt John Bentley	
12-EAGLE 60 Philip Brydges Rodney	Le CONTENT 64 was sent with the convoy
13-GLOUCESTER 50 Capt Philip Durell	
14-PORTLAND 50 Capt Charles Stevens	
and some frigates.	Frigates etc... Le CASTOR 26 with convoy
14 warships and some frigates	7 man of war in line and 2 with the convoy

Summary of the action: On the morning of October 14, the two squadrons arrived in sight of each other. The English admiral raised the signal to "give chase" and then changed his mind when he saw the ships of the French escort heading straight for him. He then ordered: "Line up for battle". At first, L'Étanduère mistook the English squadron for part of his own huge convoy from which he had been separated during the night.

[68] Bring to bay : US idiom for caught, trapped or cornered

Then, when he recognized the English squadron, he ordered Le CONTENT and the frigates to continue their route with the merchant ships while he put himself in line of battle to delay the English. But this time, as in the battle of May 3rd at the same place, the English had to stop while the convoy ran away. It was 11:00 am. The naval battle began at about 11:30 a.m. as the two large British ships, The LION[69] and The PRINCESS-LOUISA[70], moved up the entire French line, firing a broadside at the first ships of the French escort, then receiving point-blank broadsides from the others as their own batteries were discharged. The rest of the English squadron came to their aid and the battle became general. The French, much less numerous, had to fight *on both sides*. By 4 p.m., the ships of both nations were badly damaged; the French (caught in a pincer movement) more than the others. But the logistical convoy was able to continue its way.

Some French ships had been crushed under the number; two others still fought until the last extremity, until 19h00 then were taken, after more than seven hours of hard fight. The last three French ships, the largest, which could fight more effectively against such overwhelming forces, tried to stall by hoisting all the sails they could; they were L'INTREPIDE[71], Le TONNANT [L'Étanduère's flagship] and another of 74 guns. But The NOTTINGHAM, The YARMOUTH and The EAGLE went after them. The three French ships had been badly damaged, while the three English[72] ones were still in a less desperate state. After an hour of pursuit, they managed to catch up with the French and the fight resumed, more furious than before.

But the growing darkness was now greatly hindering the fighters who had to take a guess to shoot at random. Captain

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[69] ●66 guns, Captain Scott.
[70] ●66 guns, captain Watson.
[71] ●Comte de Vaudreuil, 80 canons.
[72] ●With the exception of the EAGI.E. whose crew repaired during the pursuit and threw its dead overboard.

Philippe Saumarez[73] of the NOTTINGHAM was killed by a French sniper. Soon, the night became totally dark and the fight ceased completely. Knowing that the other English ships would join the battlefield the next morning and that, in any case, the mission was accomplished, since the huge convoy of merchant ships had passed, the three French captains (of which Le TONNANT and L'INTRÉPIDE) decided to go repair their avaries to Brest (France).

Casualties & Losses ●The loss of life [killed and wounded] was almost equal on both sides. According to W.L. Clowes the French lost about 700 wounded and killed, and the British 520. Among the British, Captain Thomas Grenville (of the DEFIANCE) was killed, and Captain Boscawen (of the NAMUR) wounded. On the *French* side, La Jonquière and d'Aubigny, his flag captain, were wounded.

The English, because they had taken several ships of the escort which were integrated into the Royal Navy (Le SÉRIEUX, Le JASON, Le RUBIS, L'INVINCIBLE and merchantmen Le PHILIBERT, Le DIAMANT, Le VIGILANT, Le CHIMÈNE, L'APOLLON, Le THÉTIS, which participated in the defense), and the French because the escort had accomplished its mission: to protect the convoy that was to supply the Antilles (in soldiers). The name of Le SÉRIEUX was changed to The INTREPID, and that of Le DIAMANT to The ISIS.

Consequence of this battle: Both navies claimed victory: The English, because they had taken several ships of the escort. The French claimed victory *since the very objective of the battle was achieved: to prevent the British from seizing the huge merchantmen, the supply and troop convoy of transports* (252 ships).

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[73] ●Captain Philippe Saumarez was a Norman from Sainr-Pierre-Port, in the Channel Island of Guernsey, which the accidents of history had made a personal possession of the King of England who is duke of this island. He was probably the grand-father of the future Admiral Jacques [James] Saumarez, 1st Baron de Saumarez [1757-1836] of the Royal Navy, who fought against the French during the wars of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire. He was knighted for services rendered in 1831, five years before his death, and became the 1st Baron de Saumarez.

Sources & Further Reading ●A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Almighty God, to be used at Morning and Evening Service, after the General Thanksgiving, throughout the Cities of London and Westminster [...] on Sunday the Ninth of December, 1759; and in all Churches and Chapels throughout England [...] on the Sunday after the Ministers thereof receive the same: For the Victory gained by His Majesty's Fleet under the Command of Sir Edward Hawke, on the 20th of November last, Thomas Bisket, London, 1759. ●The conduct of Admirals Hawke, Keppel, and Palliser, compared, J. Bew Editions, London, 1779. ●The Hawke Papers; a Selection, 1743-1771, by Ruddock F. Mackay, Aldershot [G.B.], Scolar Press [for the Navy records Society], 1990. ●Sailors in battle, Tome I, From the origins to the XVIII century, Paul Chack, Édition du Gerfaut, Paris, 2001. ●Petite histoire des grands vaisseaux du XVIII siècle, Loïc Du Rostu, A.R.H.I.M.S., Saint-Gilles-Croix-de- Vie, 1984.

Siege of Charleroi.

Date of the action: 14 July - 2 August 1746.

Location: Present-day Belgium. Geographical coordinates: 50° 25' north latitude, and 04° 26' east longitude. [See the toponymic map of Flanders located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend, from 10 to 23 August 1745]

Context: After the fourth and fifth sieges of Charleroi, from 1692 to 1693, this city remained under French rule for a few years. However, the Ryswick Agreements of 20 September 1697 retroceded it to the Spanish.

In 1700, there was a new crisis: on his death, Charles II, King of Spain, bequeathed his possessions to Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV. Immediately, several European powers, including England, the United Provinces and Austria, joined forces to prevent this inheritance which gave too much strength to France. The French therefore seized many strongholds, including Charleroi. Once again, treaties of peace[74] restored Charleroi to Austria. In 1740, the death of the Austrian Emperor Charles VI plunged Charleroi back into war. Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, daughter and heiress of Charles VI, succeeded her father, but her inheritance was disputed by Poland, Prussia, Spain, several German princes including Bavaria, and France. After the sieges of Brussels and Saint-Ghislain, the French troops, commanded by Louis-François de Bourbon, Prince of Conti and subordinate of the French

[74] The Treaties of Utrecht in 1713 and Radstadt in 17131714.

Maréchal de Saxe, invested the fortress of Charleroi; it was the 14th of July, 1746.

Chiefs present : ♦*French* : Louis-François de Bourbon, Prince de Conti[75]. The Comte de Ségur[76] and the Comte de Lautrec[77]. ♦*Anglo-Allies*: The garrison was commanded by General Robert Somerset de Beaufort.

Troops involved ♦*French*: on 22 July, Conti had 48 battalions of infantry and 76 squadrons of cavalry. ♦*Anglo-allies*: garrison of 2831 men including 129 officers.

Strategy or Tactics: The Count of Lautrec went to establish himself in the village of Heppignies to cover the siege. The French undertook a circumvallation line intended to cover them against the attacks of a possible relief army. This line was 20 km long. In addition to all the ingredients of the sieges of the time: saps, artificial floods, mines, trenches, etc., the French used disinformation to induce the garrison to capitulate. The chief engineer, Belidor, befriended the priest of a neighboring village who had his family in the besieged city. He confided to him, under the seal of secrecy,

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[75] Louis François de Bourbon Conti, Comte de La Marche and then Prince de Conti in 1727, was born on 13 August 1717 in Paris and died on 2 August 1776 in the same city. The Prince de Conti was one of the key figures in the princely opposition to Louis XV. He played a central role in the life of the court of Versailles in the 1740s and 1750s. Conti was replaced in the last days of the siege by the Marquis de La Fare.

[76] Philippe Henri de Ségur (20 January 1724 – 3 October 1801) was a French soldier. He was Marshal of France and Secretary of State for War under Louis XVI. Son of Henri François, Comte de Ségur (1689-1751) and Angélique de Froissy (1702-1785), the legitimate natural daughter of the Regent, he was cornet and captain in the regiment of Rosen Cavalry (1739), colonel of the Vexin (1743) and Soissonnais (1745) regiments and served under his father's command in Italy and Bohemia. He was wounded at Roucoux, in Flanders, in October 1746, lost an arm at Lawfeld in 1747, and was appointed brigadier on 27 July 1747. On 23 March 1748 he succeeded his father as lieutenant-general in Champagne and Brie and became maréchal de camp on 25 August 1749. In 1753, he was appointed governor of the county of Foix. Created Marshal of France in 1783. During the Terror, he was locked up in the prison of La Force and, after his release, reduced to the greatest poverty. Napoleon I gave him a pension in 1800. He died the following year.

[77] Daniel-François, Comte de Gélas de Voisins d'Ambres, known as the Comte de Lautrec, Lieutenant General of the King's Armies, Inspector General of the Infantry, then Marshal of France.

that "the French were going to use the collieries to penetrate under the city and blow it up". Of course, and to Bélidor's great joy, the parish priest spilled the beans and the population was soon aware of the "imminent danger". To consolidate the rumor, the French paraded a long convoy of covered wagons to the entrance to the collieries, visible from the city walls. The inhabitants believed that it was the convoy of explosive powder. Terrified, the population forced the Allied governor to capitulate as a relief army was about to arrive.

Summary of the action: On 23 July, three attacks were launched: ♦ to the north towards the Brussels Gate, ♦ to the east towards Montigny-sur-Sambre, ♦ the third towards the Lower Town, opposite Marcinelle. During the night of the 28 to the 29, the French opened the trench at the three points planned. Every night these parallels lengthened with their zigzag communications. The men worked to perfect the trenches and parallels. Batteries of mortars and cannons were installed under Allied fire. During the night of August 1 to 2, four soldier-workers went to the front of the *covered way*[chemin couvert] to cries of "*Long live the King*"; the allied soldiers they met disbanded instead of driving back this handful of Frenchmen. Other workers followed them and invaded several works. On the eastern side, towards Montignies, the attack was also continuing. The parallels and the communication trenches were advancing. The second [parallel] was advancing towards the *Redoubt des Paysans.* Five batteries were installed in this sector by the French. One [of 4 pieces], in the center of the first parallel, beat the left face of the *Bastion d'Orléans*; a second of 6 guns, in the middle of the second parallel, beat the Bastion Dauphin; two others of six guns, located at the end of the 2nd parallel, pounded the Bastion du Roy; and a fifth battery of 6 guns, behind these two parallels, targeted the defenses[78]. During the night of 30 to 31 July, the

[78] This 5th battery was of "ricochet" type (indirectly firing).

French were still making progress in the construction of their approach trenches. The miners also dug saps. Soon, the Anglo-Allies abandoned the Redoubt des Paysans that the French were about to reach. During the night of 31 to 1 August, the latter set up two batteries of 6 guns each, in front of the Redoubt de Vauban with two mortars in the rear, and a third battery of 3 guns in the center of the 2nd parallel to beat the Bastion d'Orléans. The Anglo-Allies fired at night, as they wished, to delay these approach works; in vain. Some French Grenadiers and their lieutenant attacked by surprise, during the night of August 1 to 2, the Redoubt de Vauban with chants of "*Tue! Tue!* [*Kill! Kill!*]", the usual cry of assaults[79]. They seized "Vauban," and, continuing their attack on its momentum, also took a hornwork [ouvrage à corne]. Believing that they were dealing with a major offensive, the Anglo-Allied soldiers fled to the square. The French had also begun a third attack through the village of Marcinelle. In this sector too, trenches had been dug. Because of the floods, the Cavalry had brought fascines[80] and sandbags to reinforce and seal the entrenchments. Here too, batteries were installed to beat the Anglo-Allied front from the rear and in enfilade. On the night of the 30 to the 31, the French launched an assault on the *Redoubt de Marcinelle*, sword in hand. This last redoubt was finally taken by a section of 30 Grenadiers. It was defended by an Irish garrison commanded by an officer named O'Lara. To deceive the French into believing that the garrison was more numerous, the ingenious O'Lara had helmets placed on stakes. The continuous and well-sustained fire of the Irish was also intended to deceive the enemy. But an Irish deserter went over to the French camp to warn the French of the cunning of their commander. The defector guided them through the flood, with water up to his waist. He was killed at the beginning of the fight. The

[79] A cry intended to impress the enemy, of course.
[80] Fascines: small bundles usually intended to fill ditches.

Irish defended themselves for a moment and then surrendered[81]. The capture of the redoubt cost the lives of two Frenchmen and wounded three others. The Irish losses were a little heavier. The redoubt was immediately connected to the French parallel by a communication hose. This done, the French posted a battery of breaches just opposite the Porte de Marcinelle. It immediately began with its accurate shot[82] to fill the ditch of this gate with rubble. Then, noting a slackening of Anglo-Allied fire at this point, the French launched an assault and captured the gate. After that, they crossed the Lower Town, attacked from the rear and stormed the work that covered the Pont de Sambre. The Anglo-Allies immediately began a heavy bombardment of the captured sector, to which the French replied, protected by the profiles of the Porte de Namur. Seeing that the Upper Town, still under Anglo-Allied control, was bombarding the Lower Town taken by the French, who were beginning to strike the ramparts of the Upper Town at point-blank range, the English governor Robert de Beaufort[83] had the white flag hoisted. In the afternoon, the capitulation was signed and the garrison made itself a prisoner of war

Casualties ♦*French*: 21 killed and 70 wounded. ♦*Anglo-allies*: unknown. Among the population of Charleroi, the losses were small.

As a consequence of this Anglo-allied defeat, a French garrison occupied the city on 3 August. On October 18, 1748, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored Charleroi to Austria.

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[81] The Prince de Conti, charmed by O'Lara's bravery and intelligence, offered him service in the French army. He accepted.

[82] Surgical, as today's electronic warfare aviators would say.

[83] The Beauforts were a powerful and wealthy family from the start, and rose to greater power after their half-brother became King Henry IV in 1399, having deposed his 1st cousin King Richard II. However, in 1406, Henry IV decided that although the Beauforts were legitimate, their line could not be used to make any claim to the throne. John Beaufort had already been created *Earl of Somerset* in 1397. His second son John became the first *Duke of Somerset* in 1443.

Cannons from Louis XV. Cour des Invalides. Priv.Coll.

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SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Faesch, *Diaries of the MDCCXLVI Campaign Head-quarters in the Low Countries; with the intaglio plans,* P. Mortier, Amsterdam, 1750. ♦Georges Louis Le Rouge, *Carte Topographique des Environs de Charleroy jusqu'à Philippeville*, Charleroi, Belgique, 1746. ♦*Ode sur la conquête des PaysBas et sur les événements de la campagne de 1746 y comprise la bataille d'Anss donnée le 11 octobre 1746*, publication Vve Danel et fils, Lille, 1746. ♦*Plan et environs de Charleroy, levé géométriquement*, mis au jour par le Sr. Jaillot. Echelle, 1200 toises, 1746. ♦Marie-Félix-Edmond vicomte de Bois-le-Comte, *Le Maréchal de BelleIsle, pendant la guerre de la succession d'Autriche*, d'après les lettres écrites au comte de Labasèque, ministre à la cour de Trèves (17411743), par M. le Vte de Boislecomte, Paris, 1899. ♦Zambault (chevau-léger de l'une des compagnies d'ordonnances de la gendarmerie), *The Conquest of the Netherlands by the King in the Campaign of 1745, with the Capture of Brussels in 1746*, La Haye, 1747.

Old map of Charleoi. Priv.Coll

Siege of Coiladdy.

Date of the action: May 2, 1753.

Location: Earthen pagoda-fortress located on the island of Srirangam[84]. Conflict: Official peace since 1748.

Background: War was raging in Indian Carnatic.

Chiefs ♦*French*: Chanda-Sahīb[85]; one French officer. ♦*Anglo-Indians*: Ensign Trusler.

Troops ♦.Unknown number.

Strategy or Tactics: shelling of the fort.

Summary of the action: In early August, the French sent a force to attack Coiladdy, a mud fort 1,500 yards east of the shore that terminates Srirangam Island. Informed of this attack, the English captain Gingen sent Ensign Trusler to reinforce the garrison. This officer bravely defended the fort for a few days, then he gave up one night. A force of 200 Europeans (English) was stationed in front of the fort on the south bank of the Kavari River to cover their retreat. But the French were informed of the retreating English army crossing the river. They then began to strafe them while preparing to

[84] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.
[85] Chanda Sahïb was the Nabob of Carnatic between 1749 and 1752. His real name was Husayn Dost Khan. He was the son-in-law of the former Carnatic mogul Dost Ali Khan under whom he had worked.

assault the fort. The English then threw away their weapons to lighten up and crossed the river in irrepressible panic.

Casualties ♦Heavy on the English side.

Consequence of this English defeat: This success determined the Franco-Indians of Chanda-Sahïb to cross the river and encamp to the east of Trichinopoly.

(Arrival of Major Lawrence at Coilady, illustration from *Cassells Illustrated History of India* by James Grant, pub. 1879) Priv.Coll.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦The Carnatic. *Illustrating the Carnatic Wars 1740 to 1763*, Lokanandini Press, Triplicane, Madras, 1920. Britannus, *A letter to a certain foreign minister, in which the grounds of the present war are truly stated, the conduct of the last administration in regard to foreign affairs fully vindicated and the terms of a safe and honourable peace clearly pointed out,* M. Cooper, Londres, 1745. ♦*A complete history of the War in India from 1749 to 1761*, *with an accurate detail of Colonel Clive's military transactions*, Londres, 1761

Siege of Conjeveram.

Date of the action: 1751.

Location: Fortified city in India, now Conjeeveram or Kanchipuram. Geographical coordinates: 12° 50' north latitude, and 79° 43' east longitude[86].

Context: On 19 November, Clive[87] set out with 200 Europeans, 700 Sepoys and 3 pieces of artillery, hoping to see the arrival of the reinforcement of 2000 cavalry promised by the Mahrattes. But these horsemen were then very much engaged in plundering a town belonging to Rajah Sahïb, when their camp was attacked by a French detachment in the pay of Rajah Sahïb, and all the fruit of their plundering stolen. Learning of the arrival of a [French] unit of Europeans from Pondicherry, Clive tried to enlist the help of the Mahratte in order to intercept the French before their force could link up with Rajah Sahïb. But as there was no possibility of plunder in this mission[88], Clive obtained no reinforcement from the Mahratte's troops. Until the moment when the Mahratt chief learned that the troop arriving from Pondicherry was bringing a large sum

[86] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of River Panar, 13 April 1753.
[87] Robert Clive, 1725-1774. Clive first went to India in 1743 in the service of the British East India Company. He fought brilliantly for the British Empire. He returned to England in 1753 and then returned to India, where he defeated native forces the following year. Bengal was thus annexed to the British Empire. His administration of that province was heavily tainted by corruption. From 1760 to 1765 he lived in England and then returned to Bengal as governor and representative of Her Gracious Majesty. In 1767 he returned to England and committed suicide when, in 1774, the Parliament in London investigated the corruption in which he had engaged. [Encyclopaedia Britannica]
[88] The salaries of the Mahratt troops lacked consistency, and the soldiers had to pay themselves in kind to the unarmed peasants in order to support their numerous families who sometimes followed the army at war. It was often the same in European armies.

of money[89]. Greed revived the failing courage. He gathered 600 horsemen, marched [30 km] with Clive towards the troops of Rajah Sahïb, and succeeded in regaining the fruit of the plundering from them. Then Clive headed for the fortified pagoda of Conjeveram, where the French maintained a small garrison intended to monitor and disrupt the English logistical lines between Arcate and Madras.

Chiefs ♦Clive commanded the English forces.

Troops ♦The *Anglo-Indian army* numbered 1500 men, including 200 English soldiers, 700 English-trained Sepoys, 600 Mahratte cavalrymen and 3 cannons. ♦The *Franco-Indian garrison* numbered 100 men, including about twenty French soldiers.

Strategy or Tactics: Threats of retaliation and then bombing of walls to create a breach.

Summary of the action: Clive then summoned the commander of the French pagoda of Conjeveram to capitulate. The latter had two English prisoners write a letter telling Clive that if he attacked, it would endanger the lives of the two English prisoners. But the two men added a secret comment suggesting that Clive should override the blackmail and attack the pagoda[90]. However, Clive waited, before attacking, until he received the siege equipment from Madras. This done, he began to pound the wall, which collapsed after three days of bombardment. Seeing that the game was lost to far superior forces, the French commander took advantage of the following night to abandon the pagoda, and it was not until the next morning that the English realized that the garrison had slipped through their fingers.

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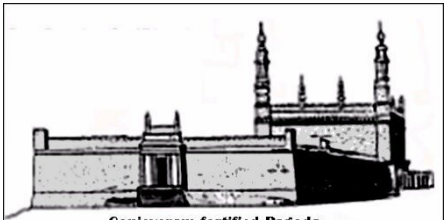
[89] Rumour launched by the English in order to motivate the Mahrattes troops.
[90] English was not yet an international language and the idiomatic commentary went unnoticed by the commander of the place.

Casualties ♦Only a few wounded on both sides.

As a result of this French defeat, Clive had the enormous, armored doors that closed the Conjeveram Pagoda destroyed, so that this building of worship could no longer be used as a fortress. Then he returned to Madras.

SOURCES& FURTHER READING ♦*A complete history of the War in India from 1749 to 1761*, *with an accurate detail of Colonel Clive's military transactions*, Londres, 1761. ♦John Charpentier, *Dupleix et l'empire des Indes*, Mame, Tours, 1937. ♦Gabriel Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Dupleix; ou, L'Inde conquise*, Librarie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Paris, 1942. ♦*États: 1 ° des troupes de la reine de Hongrie dans les PaysBas ; 2 ° des troupes anglaises qui ont passé en Flandre; 3 ° des troupes de Hanovre; 4 ° des troupes de Hollande; 5 ° de ce que l'on estime nécessaire pour les garnisons des places des PaysBas de la reine de Hongrie; 6 ° de ce que l'on estime nécessaire pour les garnisons des places des Hollandais; 7 ° de ce qu'il restera de troupes pour mettre en campagne; 8 ° des garnisons hollandaises qui sont actuellement dans les places de la république ou dans les places du PaysBas autrichien*, sans données de publication, 1744.



Conjeveram fortified Pagoda

Capture of the fort of Covelong.

Other names: Covelaon, Kovelong.

Date of the action: mid-September 1752.

Location: The fort of Covelong was located 30 km from Madras, on the seashore, equidistant from Saint-Thomé and Sadras, Coromandel Coast, Carnatic, India. Geographical coordinates: 12° 45' north latitude, and 80° 17' east longitude[91].

Conflict: France and England had been officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748].

Context: In India, colonial rivalries were raging between these two European powers.

Chefs in attendance ♦*English*: Robert Clive. ♦*French*: The name of the French commander is unknown.

Forces involved ♦*British*: 600 Europeans, 2,200 Sepoys and 4,000 Indian infantry and cavalry. ♦*French*: 300 Sepoys and 50 Frenchmen in garrison.

Strategy or Tactics: The fort had no moat, but a powerful wall flanked by round towers on which 30 pieces of artillery were mounted. The French had seized it in 1750. In 1752 the place had a garrison of 300 Sepoys and 50 Frenchmen. During this military action, the problem of the quality of the troops arose, and, more

[91] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.

specifically, of military discipline. In his own biography, Sun Tzu explains how military discipline can be established despite the quality of the troops. The book of Sun Tzu, who was looking for a job, had enabled him to obtain an audience with Ho Lu, king of Wu. The latter probably decided to ridicule him or put him to the test. "Ho Lu said, 'I have read your thirteen chapters, sir, in their entirety. Can you give a little demonstration of the art of mastering the movements of the troops?" Sun Tzu replied, "I can." Ho Lu asked, "Can you perform this experiment on women?" Sun Tzu said, "Yes." Thereupon the king gave his consent, and sent from the palace a hundred and eighty beautiful women. Sun Tzu divided them into two companies and placed the king's two favorite concubines at their head. He taught them all to carry a halberd. Then he said, "Do you know where the heart is, where the right hand, the left hand, and the back are?" The women said, "We know that." Sun Tzu said: "When I command 'Face' turn to the front, your heart towards me; when I say "left" turn to the left hand; when I say "Right" to the right; when I say "Back" turn your back on me." The women said, "We have understood." After the enunciation of these provisions, the arms of the executioner were prepared[92]. Sun Tzu then gave the orders three times and explained them five times, after which he beat the signal "Turn to the right" on the drum. The women burst out laughing. Sun Tzu said, "If the instructions are not clear, and if the orders have not been fully explained, it is the commander's fault." He then repeated the orders three times and explained them five times, and then he beat on the drum the signal to turn left. Again the women burst out laughing. Sun Tzu said, "If the instructions are not clear and if the orders are not explicit, it is the commander's fault. But when the instructions have been explained and the orders are not carried out in accordance with military law, it is a crime on the part of the officers." Then he ordered

[92] To show that he spoke seriously [note by Francis Wang, the Chinese translator]. He suspected that the courtesans would try to ridicule him in order to distract the king.

that the captains of the company on the right and the one on the left be beheaded. The king of Wu, who was watching the scene from his terrace, saw that his two beloved concubines were about to be executed. He was frightened and sent his aide-de-camp, carrying the following message: "I know now that the general is capable of using troops. Without these two concubines, my food will have no flavor. It is my desire that they not be executed." Sun Tzu replied, "Your servant has already received from you the investiture of commander-in-chief; but when the commander is at the head of the army, he is not bound to accept all the orders of the sovereign." He therefore ordered that the two women who had commanded the troops should be executed, in order to make an example. Then he placed at the head of the companies those who occupied the rank immediately below. Thereupon again, with the drum, he gave the signal, and the women turned to the left, to the right, to the front, to the back, knelt down, and all stood up, exactly as the imposed exercise required. They did not dare to make the slightest noise. Sun Tzu then sent a messenger to the king with the following information: "The troops are now in good order. The king can go down to review and inspect them. They can be used at the king's pleasure; they will even go so far as to pass through fire and water[93]." The king appointed Sun Tzu general-in-chief of his army.

Summary of the action: The English army set out on September 10, 1752 with 4 large 24-pounder guns. On arriving near the fort, half of the troop was dispatched at night to seize a walled garden located 500 meters south of the fort. But the French had been warned by a deserter (probably Irish) of the arrival of the English. At dawn, a French detachment marched out of the fort and approached the English camp, where the French soldiers discharged a salvo at the English tents, causing panic. The English officer who commanded the troop was killed. The English troop began to flee

[93] From Sun Tzu's The Art of War, translated by Francis Wang.

"with a degree of determination which appeared to indicate that Madras was the point to which they were bent and that their speed would not slacken until they arrived there," an English historian humorously recounted. But Clive, who was coming with the rest of his forces, stopped the fugitives. However, he had to use violence to force them back into battle. Arriving at the fort, Clive summoned the French commander to surrender. The latter replied haughtily. Clive then attempted to erect a battery 250 yards from the walls; but its construction was hampered by the heavy fire of the French. A large rock which was occupied as an outpost was struck by a French cannonball. The boulder fell like a huge dead dinosaur, rolled and splintered, crushing, killing and wounding 14 Englishmen; Clive himself escaped death only by a miracle. The baraka of great strategists! This hit on the target triggered another panic, and as a result, a second flight of the English troops[94], who refused to return to the attack. He succeeded, however, by his prestige and his contempt for danger, in giving these scoundrels[95] a certain sense of military service. On the third day, Clive marched with half of his army [i.e., with 3,500 men, including 500 Europeans] to meet a relief army [composed of 40 Frenchmen and 600 Sepoys], sent by Dupleix, and which had advanced to within 6 km from Covelong. But these relief troops seemed to be affected by the same syndromes as the English soldiers[96]. They fled after a brief but furious fight. It is true that, this time, the difference in numbers was enough to suggest that their fight was hopeless. The next day the battery was finished; It was then that the French

[94] The English soldiers in this unit were mostly young recruits who had been released from prison, and so poorly disciplined that it took a long time and all of Clive's strength of character to make them real soldiers. They were offered the choice between prison and the army. The military recruiting services in England have always had serious difficulties in recruiting soldiers. The English seem to be recalcitrant to military life. Moreover, during the First and Second World Wars, general and compulsory conscription was only voted at the end of these conflicts and not at the beginning as in France.

[95] To use the expression of an English historian.

[96] Continues the same humorous historian.

commander of the fort offered to capitulate on condition that he could safeguard the property. This was accepted.

Casualties ♦unknown.

Consequence of this French defeat: This battle indicated how much the quality of soldiers available to go and continue the fight in these distant lands had decreased.

What remains today of Fort Covelong. Priv.Coll.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦S.P. Sen, *The French in India, 17631816*, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1958. ♦*A complete history of the War in India from 1749 to 1761*, *with an accurate detail of Colonel Clive's military transactions*, Londres, 1761. ♦The Carnatic. *Illustrating the Carnatic Wars 1740 to 1763*, Lokanandini Press, Triplicane, Madras, 1920. ♦Roger Glachant, *Histoire de l'Inde des Français,* Librairie Plon, Paris, 1965.

Battle of Culloden Moor.

Date of the action: April 16, 1746

Location: 7 km from Inverness, gateway to the Scottish Highlands. The site can still be visited today. 57.485934, -4.066656

Conflict: War of the Austrian Succession [17401748]. Campaign in Scotland and England by Prince CharlesEdward Stuart [23 years old], candidate for the throne of Scotland.

Background: In 1745, Charles Edward Stuart [23 years old], grandson of the King of England dethroned by William of Orange, landed in England, raised a Scottish army of volunteers from both the Highlands and the Lowlands, captured Edinburgh and invaded England where he was to link up with a French army of 10,000 men that would land in the south of England as a diversion. But, when he arrived 300 km from London, Charles Edward received the news of the landing of some French troops at Montrose [Scotland]. He also learned that three English armies, totaling 30,000 men, were concentrating to face his 6,000 men. The French would not be too much. He therefore turned back to return to Scotland. The return trip went well, for, although attacked, he won two victories [Preston and Falkirk]. The Duke of Cumberland[97] finally arrived in Scotland after having landed in the south of Great Britain English and German units taken from the British army of Flanders.

[97] Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (15 April 1721 – 31 October 1765), Duke of Cumberland, was a member of the British royal family. He was the sixth child and third son of King George II of Great Britain and Margravine Caroline of Brandenburg Ansbach. He was a great British military leader, but he suffered many humiliations at the hands of the French. After the Culloden massacres, he was nicknamed the Butcher of the Scots.

German units led by the Prince of Hesse, Cumberland's cousin, also came to land at Leith, the port of Edinburgh[98]. The winter passed slowly into Franco-Scottish raids, while the English troops burned the houses of those who had joined the insurgent army.

On Monday, April 14, 1746, Cumberland's English army finally moved and crossed the Spey River, which served as the de facto border between the belligerents. The bagpipes of the insurgent army immediately beat the recall of the troops through the streets of Inverness. "Cumberland is going to be served another Fontenoy!" joked the French officers, full of irony. Charles Edward jumped on his horse and led his army to Culloden House, 6 or 7 km from Inverness where the Scots prepared to bivouac for the night. Charles Edward's forces were weak. He had only 4,000 men. He had sent messengers all over the region to hasten the return of the various detachments; but several clans had not yet returned. The Frasers, the Keppochs, the Macdonalds, the Macphersons, the Macgregors, some Glengarrys, and the Mackenzies mobilized by the Earl of Cromarty had not yet returned. The Macdonald clans of Keppoch and Fraser finally arrived on the morning of the battle, bringing the total to about 5,000 men. Provisions were scarce and the Scots received only a small bannock[99] a day. This very unsatisfactory supply caused the departure of entire units which went to the supply and then returned. Charles Edward then ordered a stock of provisions to be concentrated in Inverness and a feast prepared. But unknowingly, he was preparing the meal for

[98] On entering Edinburgh, the Duke of Cumberland found that almost all the windows of the city had been broken. He inquired and was told that shortly before the English authorities had ordered the Scots to light their windows in honour of the King of England's birthday. The English troops amused themselves that evening by breaking the windows of all those who had not complied with this order: "All those who have had the windows broken are Jacobites [Catholics]," commented the governor of the castle, much to the amusement of the Duke of Cumberland.

[99] Bannock was a Scottish bread made of extremely coarse flour [sometimes made of semi-ground grain], which the emigrants from that country made fashionable among the fur traders of Canada a few years later, when, as a result of this battle and the ethnic cleansing at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the next, Scotland was emptied to North America.

the Anglo-German victors, for the crucial moment of the battle was approaching. It was about 11:00 a.m. when the British army was seen on the horizon. Imprudent Scottish civilians, who had come from Inverness, had massed behind the Scottish army to see their troops inflict a crushing defeat on the abhorred English.

Chefs in attendance ♦*Scots*: George Murray commanded the right wing [Lord George Murray (4 October 169411 1760) was the 5th son of John Murray, 1st Duke of Atholl, chief of Clan Murray by his first wife Catherine, daughter of the 3rd Duke of Hamilton]; Lord Jehan [John] Drummond, Duke of Perth, left; General Stapleton, second line; Prince Charles Edward[100], General-in-Chief, stood on an eminence in the rear of the Corps de Bataille. ♦*English*: the Duke of Cumberland; the Prince of Hesse.

Troops engaged *Anglo-German* ♦ 11,000 men. ♦*Scots*: 5000 men including two battalions of the French army[101]. "For many years McDonell[102] of Keppoch [one of the Scottish chiefs] was regarded as the hero of Culloden, but very recently[103] Mr. Andrew Lang tried to prove that this was not the case. The point of contention

[100] Charles Edward Stuart (17201788), nicknamed Bonnie (handsome in Scottish) Prince Charlie, was the eldest son of Prince James Francis Stuart, himself the son of King James II of England, James VII of Scotland, who had lost his throne in 1688, and the Stuart pretender to the English and Scottish crowns. Charles was born in Rome and spent his childhood in Italy. He took part in the siege of Gaeta in 1734. In December 1743 Charles's father appointed him Prince Regent, giving him the authority to act on his behalf. Eighteen months later, he led an uprising in an attempt to return the throne to his father. He landed at Eriskay on 23 July 1745 with seven companions, hoping for support from a French fleet, but these ships were damaged by a storm and he had to try to raise an army in Scotland. Many Catholic clans in the Highlands were Jacobite and Charles, although a Catholic, expected a warm welcome from these clans, but the reaction was delayed. Charles was able to raise enough force to march on Edinburgh, which quickly surrendered. He then defeated the only government army at the Battle of Prestonpans on 21 September 1745 and in November found himself at the head of an army of 6,000 men. Pursued by the Duke of Cumberland, son of King George II, he suffered a crushing defeat at the Battle of Culloden on 16 April 1746. The Stuart cause being lost, Charles took refuge first in France and then in Rome, where he died on 31 January 1788.

[101] These two "French" battalions included 200 French volunteers and 5 or 600 Irish and Scots.

[102] Or MacDonald; The spelling varied enormously, especially considering the widespread illiteracy of the time.

[103] At the end of the nineteenth century.

was whether his clansmen refused to follow their commander, or did follow him, and even overtook him to engage the enemy after the latter had fallen." Sir Walter Scott spread the idea that[104]: "Keppoch might have drawn more men to the field of battle, but there was a dispute between him and his clan, a rare circumstance in itself, and still more extraordinary since it had arisen over a question of religious beliefs. Keppoch was a Protestant, his clan was Catholic, a difference that would not have caused any discord between them if Keppoch had allowed a Catholic priest to accompany his faithful on the march. But the chief refused; The clansmen considered themselves offended and came in smaller numbers than expected, because, despite everything, they liked him very much and it was deserved." On the other hand, according to the Keppoch family tradition, the whole story was born of the fertile imagination of Murray of Broughton, and had no real foundation; on the contrary, Keppoch was "a Catholic and had brought up his whole family in this faith[105]." Alexandre MacDonell[106] de Keppoch, raised in France, was a former officer in the French army. Although he was mortally wounded on the battlefield of Culloden, his family was nevertheless struck down by Albion's vengeance. His house was burned down and razed to the ground, and his territorial heritage confiscated..." As if to exterminate his clan and eradicate the roots of the protests, the Keppoch region served[107] as an inexhaustible reserve of *human material* (cannon fodder) for the English, who drew from it in abundance in order to "provide recruits for the newly formed Highlander regiments between 1750 and the present time. Among the officers of the Fraser Highlanders were Captains

[104] Sir Walter Scott, The Tales of My Grandfather, chapter xxvi; footnote at the bottom of the page.
[105] Odo Blundell, The Catholic Highlands of Scotland, Sand & CO, Edinburgh, 1909. Volume 1 The Central Highlands, Lochaber chapter, page 173. Keppoch had been educated in France and had entered the French army to fight the English.
[106] Keppoch, the name of his land, became his nickname. The French nobility also bore the name of their lands.
[107] Like the other Catholic clans of the Highlands.

Donald Macdonald[108], Ranald Macdonell[109], and Archibald[110]"... In 1793, the Cameron Volunteers Regiment was raised. All the men were from Lochaber, 300 even came from Keppoch. Two years later, it was proposed by the then War Office[111] to amalgamate this regiment into others. This was harshly felt and criticized by officers and men.

Current state of the Culloden Moor battlefield ; the blocks indicate the positions of the Highlanders clans.

The British commander-in-chief then threatened to exile this regiment to the Caribbean[112] if the men persisted in contesting the order to disperse; to which Cameron de Erracht replied defiantly: "*You may tell your father, the King, on my behalf that he can send us to hell if he will; I will go at the head of my men! But we do not accept to let ourselves be lumped together*[113]". The whole Scotch regiment was therefore literally sent to hell; he was transferred to the West Indies on disciplinary terms, and after two years of this terrible climate, only a quarter of the Highlanders returned to the Scottish district of Lochaber, decimated by the French Republicans, the

[108] Brother of Clanranald.
[109] Brother of Angus XVII of Keppoch.
[110] Grandson of Angus.
[111] Ministry of War, from London; the aim was to disperse these soldiers who showed a little too much esprit de corps in their grudge against the English.
[112] Where the terrible War of Slavery and yellow fever raged.
[113] The original text is even more provocative: "... but he dare not draft us." [but let him not take notice of us... the verb does not take an s because it is a subjunctive]. This shows the extent to which the Highlanders were willing to fight for the glory of England, which had oppressed them and was preparing to liquidate the Highlands [see The Highlands Clearances], but only on the condition that they fight in clannically homogeneous bodies; which prevented them from being discriminated against by other soldiers on the basis of religion [theirs was Catholic] or language [Gaelic].

insurgent slaves, and yellow fever [114]. And so it was that a Scottish poet was able to sadly express his lamentations over the misfortunes of the Celtic people:

Lochaber, on thy heather hills,
The fame of heroes rest;
Each name in Scotia's annals famed
Found echo in thy breast:
Historic Keppoch, desert now,
Speak from thy ruined mound,
The days when Claverhouse, noblest chief,
Thine aid and shelter found.

Strategy or Tactics : The Duke of Cumberland's opinion of Scotland and the Scots was extremely biased. In his letters, he described with blind extremism how tired he was of this country: "The Scots are all Jacobites, without exception." Even the "loyalists"[115] could not be of much use to him. He felt himself even more in an enemy's country than when he was making war on the French in Flanders. "Soft measures will not achieve anything in a country like this... You will find that all the laws of this ancient kingdom need to be modernized. Could I ever enumerate the long list of villains and villains that abound in this country[116]..." Because of this contempt, the revolt was going to be crushed in blood; which was certainly not an ideal strategy for a marriage between two peoples. While Cumberland treated the French captured in Scotland as prisoners

[114] That is to say that only 600 men returned, while 2,500 had left for this hell. The others sleep for eternity in the humid land of the West Indies that Club Med tourists no longer consider as hell, but on the contrary as paradise! In 1793, the French Republicans abolished slavery, and to prevent this desire for freedom from infecting their own slaves, the English invaded the French West Indies to reinstate slavery. This was the Slavery War, which the author describes in his book, Franco-English Battles of the Slavery War (1791-1804) and the French Revolutionary Wars (1793-1804). ISBN: 978-2-921668-15-6.

[115] Everyone was loyal to something, to an ideal, to an idea, or to a person; for Cumberland, it was the Scots loyal to his father King George of England.

[116] History of the Rebellion of 17456, voir *in fine*

of war, he carried out terrible reprisals against the Scottish partisans of the Prince Pretender that earned him the nickname "*Butcher of the Scots*": women raped, houses burned, speedy trials; for 18 long months. In retaliation, the minister d'Argenson had all the Englishmen living in France arrested and expelled them to England.

The Culloden moors stretch as far as the eye can see, with swamps in winter or spring, and sometimes, at this time of the year [April], snow. Charles Edward's Scottish army was in bad shape, underfed, poorly provided with cannons, and poorly commanded; especially in the face of the Anglo-German army, well fed, well led by a veteran of the continental wars; for, even if Cumberland had not shone in front of the French Maréchal de Saxe, the latter had at times felt cold sweats during the battle of Fontenoy. Today, Cumberland had a Stuart prince in front of him who did not have a total hold on his sometimes undisciplined Highlanders, as we will see when the front rank launches an attack without orders, simply to avoid the English cannonade.

SCOTTISH ARMY

Adjutant-General O'Sullivan drew up the Scottish army in two lines; his left leaning against a wall of peat which surrounded a farm, and his right against a sort of marsh in the direction of Culloden House.

♦The first line consisted of the following clans, from right to left: the Atholes, the Camerons, the Appins, the Frasers[117], the Mackintosh, the Maclachlan, and the Macleans [these two clans formed a single unit], the Farquharsons, the Claranalds, the Keppochs, and the Glengarrys.

[117] Part of the Fraser clan [the Frasers of the Master of Lovat] arrived late, at the end of the battle.

♦The second line consisted [from left to right]: Scottish troops but from the Lowland, the Ogilvie Battalion, Lewis Gordon's Battalion, Glenbucket's, the Duke of Perth's Battalion, and then the two "French" battalions, made up of 200 French soldiers but mostly Irish and Scots [Royal Scots and Royal Irish who came from France]. Three batteries of artillery, in the centre and on each wing, flanked the first line. Each of the two Highlander battle lines was compact and three men thick. In addition to the usual Scottish uniform, the men carried a musket on their left shoulder; the openwork hilt of their large thrusting sword of size[118] appeared on the left hip, pistol butts protruded from their sheaths, and a small pouch hung over the right buttock[119]. To the right of each artillery piece appeared a basketry cylinder [a gabion] for the protection of the artillerymen.

ENGLISH ARMY

Faced with these malnourished fighters, who looked like vagabonds in kilts, stood the English army, rigid as a Prussian regiment. The Duke of Cumberland harangued them on the battlefield, warning them that ridiculous panics like at Falkirk or Preston would no longer be tolerated. Immediate death would solve problems of discipline or abandonment of post. The German troops [Hessians[120]] were accustomed to this iron regime, but the English soldiers must have cursed under their breaths when they looked at this German prince who had become royal prince of England[121].

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[118] A heavy sword made to strike by the point or by the cutting edges.

[119] Perhaps a cartridge belt, suggests one of the historians. As for the others, they don't talk about it.

[120] The Hessian troops had embarked at Antwerp, to the number of 6,000, under the command of the Count of Craufurd [Crawford]. They had just landed at Leith to replace [at the request of the French] the 6,000 Dutch. The Duke of Cumberland had stationed 2 of the 12 German battalions at Stirling and 4 at Perth in order to keep the Scottish populations in check. He therefore kept the strength of 6 German battalions with him to proceed with the pursuit of the Highlanders.

[121] William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, was the son of the Elector of Hanover, who was born in Herrenhausen, and Caroline of Ansbach, who was also German.

The royal army gave a desperately rigid and threatening impression; and many of the Scots had visions of defeat when they saw her approaching. A controversy had been taking place since the last defeats of the English army, namely "why did the English troops not adopt the heavy double-edged sword[122] more effective than the meagre bayonet in use?"

Cumberland refused but found an effective countermeasure. He had noticed that, in a charge of Montagnard against regular soldier, the Scotsman would spread the soldier's bayonet to the side with his small round shield and then find himself with his heavy sword facing the unarmed chest of the soldier who only had to be struck. The duke therefore imagined that if each soldier, on arriving at an adequate distance from the enemy, directed his blows not against the man directly facing him but against the man in front of his compatriot on the right, the shield would become useless for the Scotsman who would receive blows from the unprotected side. For the claymore was always raised to strike before the man could parry the blow. Cumberland had carried out exercises along these lines with his men throughout the spring. After the morning "juice", which was in fact a real meal, the English army marched in column from the tent camp: 3 parallel columns of 4 regiments each, with a column of artillery on one side and Dragoons [cavalry] on the other.

Two miles from the Scottish army, the English halted to deploy in battle lines with the aim of prompting the Scots to leave their own positions and go on the offensive. Traditionally, the English fought defensively; exceptions, as at Fontenoy, did not bring them luck. Then, finding that the Scots themselves wished to

[122] Broadsword or claymore in Scottish Gaelic. It was in fact a heavy sword about 1 m long, straight, with an enveloping guard to protect the wrists [because it could be held with both hands]. The blade was the thickness of a dagger or bayonet blade of today, with a double-edged cutting edge, while the bayonets of the eighteenth century were round and thin. A small round shield 50 cm in diameter represented the defensive side.

remain on the defensive, Cumberland put his line back in column of march. One kilometre from the enemy line, the English reformed into three battle lines:

First Line, under the command of the Earl of Albemarle[123], *from left to right*: Barrel Regiment [now the 4th Foot], Munro Regiment [37th Foot], Scots Fusiliers [21st Foot[124]], Price Regiment [14th Foot], Cholmondeley Regiment [34th Foot], Scots Royal Regiment [1st Foot]. **Second Line** [General Huske]: Wolfe[125] Regiment [8th Foot], Sempill Regiment [25th Foot], Blyth Regiment [20th], Ligonier Regiment [48th] and the Fleming Regiment [35th]. **Third line** [Brigadier General Mordaunt]: Blakeney Regiment [27th], Battereau Regiment, Pulteney Regiment [13th], Howard Regiment [3rd]. The English regiments were in staggered[126] for greater watertightness. Batteries of two pieces of artillery had been posted between each group of two front-line regiments. Kerr's Dragoons [11th Regiment] were guarding the left flank [Colonel Lord Ancrum]. The English right leaned against a marshy bog. The Cobham Dragoons [10th Dragoon Regiment] flanked the third line, in two units. The Highlander clan of Argyle, who had also gone over to the English side for religious reasons, kept the luggage. Cumberland's device was invincible. Everything was calculated closely and the Scots, who would have to fight one against two, had

[123] This was the Dutch van Keppel family [Protestant] and no longer the English Monck family [Catholic], which had lost this English title for religious reasons [because of the Test Act] at the end of the eighteenth century.

[124] A Scottish regiment made up of Lowlanders, i.e. Protestant Scots from the Lowlands, assimilated and converted earlier by England. They were veterans of Flanders, of Fontenoy, where they had distinguished themselves, and risked death by deserting; this did not prevent a certain movement of desertion. What seems more questionable is that the English High Command used Scots to defeat Scots, as William the Bastard's French had done with the English, as well as the English authorities with blacks, to re-establish slavery in the West Indies [see Slavery War], and with French Canadians to crush the Francophile Pontiac [see Pontiac War]. The psychological effect is powerful.

[125] The same man who, having become a general, commanded the English at Quebec and died on the Plains of Abraham in 1759.

[126] That is to say, arranged like bricks in a wall. The intervals of the first line were backed by the centres of the regiments of the second.

absolutely no chance against this clockwork-set killing machine. Very anxious in spite of this, Cumberland, who feared that his troops would flee when they saw the tall redheads in kilts approaching, screaming like possessed, harangued his men with threatening words. He urged them to forget their failures at Preston and Falkirk and urged them to think that they were defending the liberties of their country and the rights of their master. (sic!) He read them a letter which had supposedly been found on an enemy straggler, in which the Highlanders revealed that they were not going to show any mercy to the English prisoners. After this little ruse, which was very effective, he pointed out to them that they were surrounded by swamps, and that, if they escaped, not one of them would escape; they therefore had to fight to the death. He asked those who did not feel comfortable in the English army to leave before the battle because "he preferred to fight with 1000 brave men than with 10,000 unconvinced of the justice of their cause[127]". Full of enthusiasm, the regiments began to shout "*Flanders! Flanders!...*"[128] Charles Edward also exhorted his troops to courage and determination[129].

Summary of the action : It was 1:00 p.m. Seeing the English army approaching, officers advised Charles Edward to retreat in order to

[127] Cunning too; in reality, after the battle, he had 36 Scottish deserters shot who had taken advantage of the manoeuvres to go over to the Highlanders.

[128] They were anxious to avenge their defeat at Fontenoy [1745] in Flanders, where the French army, which included a few Scottish Catholic Highlander regiments, had defeated the English army in which these same Protestant lowlander regiments were fighting.

[129] Culloden's arrangement evokes Jomini's XIIth Order of Battle: "From the foregoing facts the following truth can be deduced "that the most difficult as well as the most certain means used by the attackers to achieve victory is to strongly support the first line with the troops of the second reinforced Reserve, and to make adequate use of the masses of cavalry and artillery, to assist in striking the decisive blow against the enemy's second line; This is the most important problem of all battle tactics." In this important critical moment of the battle, theory becomes an uncertain guide; for it never comes up to the level of urgency and can never be compared in value with natural talent in war, nor can it effectively replace the intuitive eye that the experience of battle gives to a general who has proven himself in bravery and composure." [Baron de Jomini, The Art of War, pp. 202203; see at the end]. Compare Jomini's glance with the remark of Berault Stuart: "For war is waged in the eye; and according to what one wants, he must govern, and what he has seen other foys aduenir."

better establish his line of battle. He refused; He wanted to fight immediately. The victories of Preston and Falkirk had too much assured his confidence in his own strength. Yet, on seeing the compact and rigid mass of the English army approaching, some of his officers must have looked at the steeple of the church of Inverness, which appeared on their left, feeling a twinge in their hearts[130]. On the English side, Cumberland was offered a break for food. He sharply refused. His army advanced fully deployed, flags in the wind, bayonets gleaming in the sun, and the rhythmic roll of a hundred drums. 500 yards from the colorful line of the Scottish Highlands, the terrain became so spongy that most soldiers were up to their ankles in water. A few minutes after 1:00 p.m., therefore, the Scots opened fire from their artillery pieces; but their inaccurate projectiles passed over the heads of the English army. Their fire only had the effect of maiming a man of the Blyth regiment. Cumberland's artillery then opened an extremely accurate fire[131] intended to force the Scots to advance. The projectiles dug bloody holes in the ranks of the Highlanders. Meanwhile, Cumberland ordered Major Wolfe's regiment[132] to move to the gallows at the end of the left wing, in order to take the attackers from the flank as they passed in front of them, and, eventually, to close like a door behind them. It seems that at the beginning of the battle, the two leaders were wondering which of the two would be forced to move and attack, under the effect of the artillery[133]. Obviously, judging by the efficiency of the artillerymen, the English, who suffered only minute losses, could hold out for a long time. It seems astonishing that Cumberland was so reluctant to attack with such overwhelming numbers. In fact, he had no confidence in his soldiers who had

[130] Kilmarnock later said that when he saw this impressive mass approaching with bayonets, dark, cold, and like a great apocalyptic beast, he had a presentiment of defeat. This is easy to understand.
[131] Commanded by Colonel Belfort
[132] The same one who, thirteen years later, was to die on the Plains of Abraham, in front of Quebec.
[133] Charles Edward, seeing the difference in the effectiveness of the artillery, should have immediately launched the assault with the English batteries as the main objective. But he did not do so.

shown such little fighting value, until then with another commander-in-chief, during the campaign that was ending.

The Scottish line stoically suffered for a good thirty minutes from the precise fire of the English. But the surviving Highlanders were beginning to lose patience[134]. Charles Edward realized this and sent a messenger to his front line with orders to launch an assault. But the messenger, a Highlander from the Maclauchlan clan, was killed on the way. It was at this moment that the men of the Mackintosh clan, unable to contain themselves any longer under the rain of cannonballs and shrapnel, thrust their caps up to their ears[135] and rushed into the smoke and snow to make the enemy pay for their appalling losses. The Athole, Cameron, Stuart, Fraser and Maclean clans followed suit and followed the assault movement, happy to act, thus triggering the general charge of the entire battle line. Seeing the frightening Highlanders appear in gaps of smoke, screaming and brandishing their deadly weapons, the English line began to fire musketry, and the English artillery used anti-personnel fragmentation projectiles [clusters, as it was called at the time], while the Wolfe Regiment, on the gallows, began its very effective flank fire on the rising Scots. All the firing was done *by judgment* because of the thick smoke that now covered the battlefield. Despite this dense fire, the surviving Scots emerged like devils from the smoke at the last moment to fall on the English front line, which was quickly exterminated or dispersed. The Scottish wave therefore continued to advance to throw itself on the second line, which had been firing without interruption

[134] They were not troops of the line but rather of mass assault; although they became so when they were incorporated into the British army, afterwards. Having become excellent troops of the line and of shock, since the English always placed them in the front line, they died by the tens of thousands for the glory of England and the British Empire! It was a curious fate for the Celtic people, whose Scottish and Irish branches underwent so many trials, while the Breton branch quickly merged with the French people and did not really have a distinct history, at least since the Middle Ages.
[135] This was their custom before fighting; probably to avoid losing it.

since their first line had been annihilated[136]. Under the well-directed fire of this second line, the almost extinguished wave began to hesitate. Not a single one could penetrate the second line, which fired and reloaded with frenzy. The last Scotsman died at the foot of the English soldier who had shot him. At the level of the Mackintosh, the layer of dead and wounded reached in places three or four bodies thick. On the front line, only the Macdonald clan had not moved; they had been placed at the end of the left wing, and what they took for an indignity had deprived them of the desire to fight[137]. The Duke of Perth tried to reason with them, but they refused any assault,[138]and contented themselves with firing[139]. Only their leader Keppoch attacked; alone. He rushed towards the English, brandishing a pistol and a sword. He was shot; and as one of his clansmen wanted to pick him up to bring him back to the rear, he refused, and rushed again towards the English. After a few steps he fell dead, no doubt happy not to survive the shame of his clan.

Charles Edward still had the hope that his second line [the Lowland Scots and the foreigners, French and Irish] would mount an assault. He placed himself at their head, while dragoons on horseback came out of the English ranks and galloped in pursuit of the Macdonalds, who were now retreating. But the French stopped them with rolling volleys of musketry, until they saw that the whole of the English lines [11,000 men] were shaking to throw themselves on the Scottish second line, which turned on its heels and scattered, especially in the direction of Inverness. It was the most complete rout. But the chase did not begin immediately. The English regiments had also come under fire from the Scots, and, although their losses were small, about 300 killed, wounded, and

[136] These shots from the 2nd line, in the rear of the 1st, caused accidental losses by friendly fire in the 1st battle line. The same was true with rolling shots on three lines, each line firing in turn. Some historians have reported losses in manpower that could reach 25% of the total losses.
[137] This clan had always fought on the right wing since the Battle of Bannockburn [11 June 1488].
[138] Even if they advanced a little (forward).
[139] But at the end of the battle they fled, when they saw the other clans fall behind.

missing, they were as if stunned by this victory in which they did not yet believe. The regiments of Mounted Dragoons of the British right wing, launched after the Macdonalds, were still pinned down and held in check by the dense fire of the three battalions of the French army, which were still firing by rolling fire on the left wing of the second line. Then, judging that the battle, which had lasted only 40 minutes, was over, the French fell back, in order, towards Inverness, behind Charles Edward, whom they were covering. Part of the Scottish population, the onlookers of Inverness who had approached to witness the spectacle of the battle, and to see the English being beaten as in previous battles, were caught up in the massacre that followed and suffered the vengeance of the pursuers. Many were massacred as well as the soldiers. As we have said, the infantry battalions of the French army, which had until then served as the prince's personal guard and broken the momentum of the Anglo-German cavalry, played their tactical role by retreating in an orderly manner before the hordes of the royal army. They succeeded in delaying the pursuers and protecting the escape on horseback of Charles Edward[140]. A wide path of corpses covered the ground for six of the seven kilometers that separated the battlefield of Culloden from the city of Inverness. The battle was thus over, and the ensuing slaughter continued inexorably. The execution of the wounded was systematic and organized[141].

Casualties ♦*Scottish* : unknown; several thousand massacred, possibly 4000; even more. A large number according to all historians; 30 cannons, 2320 firelocks, 190 Scottish broad-bladed swords; 37

[140] The defecting clans [such as the Campbell clan], that is to say, those who had gone over to the English side for religious reasons, all wore the same uniform, without distinction of tartan. Only the pompom cap bore the original colors of the clan. Also, some runaways who were lucky enough to wear the right color of tartan got rid of their hats to try to pass for the others. Charles Edward's group of horses fled, protected by the Infantry, which blocked the pursuit for a while. The Nairn was forded at Falie, 6 km from Culloden.

[141] There is no doubt that Cumberland would now be tried as a war criminal by the international tribunal in The Hague.

barrels of powder and 22 wagons of ammunition[142]. The English soldiers received half a crown for each musket found, and one shilling for each Scottish sword; 16 guineas per flag [14 were recovered] which were brought to Edinburgh and ceremonially burned in front of the humiliated crowd. ♦*English*: 310 killed, wounded and missing [confessed by the English; probably more]. It was a victory for artillery and musketry, Cumberland took no chances.

As a result of this Franco-Scottish defeat , English units roamed the battlefield and the retreat route in order to finish off each wounded with bayonet blows[143]. Some soldiers found great pleasure in it[144], but a disinterested pleasure, for the Highlanders were too poor to possess objects of any interest [watches and gold coins] to the English. The only thing that "interested" the English was... their country. Scot Magazine later reported that the Duke of Cumberland walked the field covered with the dead and dying. He saw a very young, wounded Highlander, leaning on his elbow. He asked him to whom it belonged and received as his only answer: "*To the Prince!* Cumberland immediately ordered an officer who was following him "*to shoot this insolent scoundrel*." Major Wolfe, to whom the order was addressed, politely refused to perform this work of executioner. Several other officers also succeeded, with great politeness, in refusing. Furious, the duke then gave his order to a simple English soldier who immediately complied. Cumberland then proceeded to Inverness, where he received a messenger from the French battalions, who offered to lay down their arms on

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[142] That is to say, covered with prelate or prelate; today they look like they are covered up.

[143] 44Some English historians have tried to excuse this "butchery", which moreover earned the Duke of Cumberland the nickname of Butcher of the Scots , by exhuming the so-called Jacobite command order [signed not by Charles Edward but by George Murray, his second]. It is well known that such an order was never produced; it was only a simple means of exhortation and persuasion on the part of Cumberland to increase the fighting spirit of his men by fear.

[144] 55"This was done as much in sport as in rage, and as the work went on, the men at length began to amuse themselves by splashing and dabbling each other with blood." As reported in Scots Magazine [VIII, 192], one of the Englishmen described those who carried out this organized operation "more like so many butchers than like Christian soldiers."

condition that they be treated honorably as *prisoners of war*, *according to the laws of war*, and not massacred like Scots. The Duke of Cumberland wrote with his own hand a reply in which he assured the French contingent[145] that he would receive quarter and fair and honorable treatment. He kept his word and ordered his men to respect all French soldiers, including the Scottish contingent coming from France. In fact, these Scottish troops were respected. Cumberland did not dare to have them massacred because they were "commissioned" by France, which held many English prisoners taken in Flanders. On the other hand, among the prisoners who were not executed on the spot and who managed to reach Inverness or the surrounding area, he did all he could to find the many Scots who had deserted from his army to join the ranks of the Jacobite insurgents. He found only 36 of them, who were quickly sentenced to death by an improvised court-martial and executed[146] for high treason[147]. In fact, the court-martial was only used to make the operation more official. It was also a warning to other Scots. The day after the battle, the Duke was informed that a considerable number of the rebels who were resting on the battlefield had not died, despite the "organized and systematic massacres of the day before." Some had no doubt faked death, voluntarily or involuntarily [by a momentary coma], at the moment when the English were finishing off the wounded. In any case, Cumberland ordered the wounded to be grouped together on higher ground, that is to say, not swampy, and to be shot by firing squads. On Friday, the search was extended

[145] Composed, as mentioned above, of Frenchmen but especially of Irish and even Scots who had fought in the French army on the continental battlefields. The Scots of the Royal Scottish Regiment were also at Fontenoy.

[146] By hanging, as low-class common criminals.

[147] This further highlights the relativity of the meaning of the word betrayal. As a young deserting officer hanged, an English officer, furious that he had gone over to the enemy, stabbed his body with his sword and shouted that the Scots were all traitors. Furious, a Highlander officer of the English army challenged him to a duel and the fight quickly turned into a real street battle. They went to fetch Cumberland. He found the two ethnic groups face to face ready for a general assault that he had great difficulty in stopping. He who hated the Scots had to find the words to calm people's minds... offended Scots.

to the houses of the town of Inverness and the surrounding farms[148] in order to find the wounded who were hiding. Seventy Two people were shot that day[149]. A larger house, in which fugitives were hiding, was burned by the soldiers. Those who tried to flee from the flames were immediately shot[150] by soldiers posted all around. Thirty-two charred corpses were found in the ashes. Nineteen wounded officers were shot a little further away, despite their prayers to "get quarter".

This victory over the clans of Upper Scotland[151] was celebrated by the English and Protestant Scots in some towns of southern Scotland, and, of course, throughout England with giant campfires and endless chimes. Most of these festivals were organized under the critical eye of the English colonists; so even the Scots, who wept in their hearts, cut a good figure[152]. Culloden restored the Duke of Cumberland's self-confidence[153], which he was to lose again a few months later when he was again defeated by the French at the Battle of Lawfeldt, and then at Hastenbeck [July 1757], to name only the most important. After all these setbacks, it was the king, his father, who dismissed him when he signed the Capitulation of Klosterzeven with the French in September 1757. Scotland had much to suffer from the leaden cloak which fell upon it after Culloden. All those who had, directly or indirectly, been involved in this nationalist uprising were arrested and executed. According

[148] One of these "farms" has been kept as it was at the time in the battlefield park. It would be compared to a hut rather than a dwelling house. Such was the poverty of the Highlanders.
[149] [History of the Rebellion of 17456, see in fine]. Many of the facts and anecdotes reported in this story come from this very complete and... objective; in such a passionate war.
[150] As at the Battle of Saint-Charles, in Quebec, where the church was burned in 1837 with its French-Canadian defenders.
[151] And on those of Lower Scotland, because, apart from the battalions of the French army, the second line was made up of clans from this region, which was much more assimilated by England because it was more permeable to the economic, religious, and demographic colonization of that country.
[152] Moreover, frightful reprisals fell on the Scottish people as a whole, as we will see later.
[153] He also received a hard and fast gratification of 25,000 pounds sterling, in addition to his share of the booty, the result of the plundering of the region.

to Edward III's Traitors' Law, the guilty were hanged for only three minutes[154]. After which, the condemned man was placed on a large block, disemboweled, eviscerated and beheaded; and the viscera thrown into the fire. The bodily remains were returned to prison, and the head was displayed as a warning to those who might have been tempted to defy the will of their good king[155].

England then passed three kinds of repressive legislation, in order to allow the English colonization of Scotland, and thus the destruction of the specificity of this country[156]. **1-**The first was the *Disarming Act* of 1746. It consisted in taking away the soul of Scotland by prohibiting the Scottish costume[157], as well as the carrying of arms in a country where clans waged an eternal war among themselves (when they had no Englishmen to fight), and where people were robbed of their cattle by clans specializing in the theft of domestic animals. All arms were to be handed over to the English authorities by 1 Aug. 1747, failing which the offender would be fined 15 pounds and imprisoned until his debt was extinguished. But the patience of the English legislators was soon reached. If the debt lasted for a month, the culprit would be deported to America as a soldier. If he were unfit for military service, he would serve six months in prison and 10 years of conditional release. In case of recidivism, 7 years' deportation; but let there be no mistake, those who were deported quickly fell into oblivion; as in the Soviet gulags. By the same date, the Scots must have definitively abandoned the traditional Scottish costume[158] and been dressed in the English

[154] Whereas it takes no less than 9 to 10 minutes for the condemned person to be considered clinically dead, with the small fall. The great fall, on the other hand, broke the neck and killed almost instantly.
[155] The same sentence was imposed on an American from the Scottish Highlands who had come to Canada [shortly after independence from the United States in order to incite French Canadians to rise up against the English occupier. He was executed in Montreal.
[156] England had always tried to destroy everything that gave Scotland its cultural unity. Thus, as early as 1297, the English had confiscated from Edinburgh Castle *the Stone of Destiny*, on which the Scottish clans crowned their common kings. It was only issued in 1996 by the British government.
[157] Two *Desarming Acts* had already been imposed in the past, under George I
[158] And to make them disappear or burn, for the very possession was extremely dangerous.

style. *Highland cloths*, as prohibited by law, included *the plaid, the philibeg* [*kilt*], *the trouz* [narrow plaid trousers], *the harness* and some other secondary attributes. They were forbidden to wear any dress, even English, made of *Scottish tartan* fabric. The penalties were even more severe than those for carrying or possessing weapons: six months in prison for a first offence and 7 years deportation for a first offence. The aim was to destroy Scotland as a nation[159], and as a result, even the clans that had fought on the English side [such as *the Campbells*] were subjected to the same prohibitions and humiliations. This did not fail to arouse the ire of some and the irony of others. **2-** The second legislation that was imposed by London was a modification of the *Heritable Jurisdiction*, intended to destroy the clans. By putting an end to the feudal power that all the landed lords possessed over their subjects in the field of civil and criminal justice, the clan spirit would disappear. London confiscated[160] all the feudal offices of the local lords and entrusted them to sheriffs appointed by the king of England[161]. The hereditary *Rights of High Justice*, traditionally vested in the Argyll clan, were also confiscated and transferred to an English Supreme Court. All clan police or gendarmeries were abolished and entrusted to a Chief Constable for Scotland who was appointed by London and who had the English army as the forces of Order. A global indemnity of 152,000 pounds was voted for all these redemptions, which delivered Scotland bound hand and foot to its hereditary enemy. And finally, the clans themselves were abolished by an article

[159] "It was thus hoped that not only the Highlanders be incapable of again levying war against the state, but that, their distinction as a nation being destroyed, they would with all haste become obedient servants to government, like the rest of the community." [History of the Rebellion of 17456, voir in fine]

[160] Or according to the official formula, bought at a [ridiculous] fixed price. As an example, let us mention the case of Pierre Ogilvie who submitted a claim for compensation of 200 pounds and obtained only 50 pounds.

[161] "All heritable Jurisdictions were to be vested in the King's Courts and Judges. All Heritable Sheriffships were to be resumed and annexed to the Crown." [Insh, George Pratt, The Scottish Jacobite Movement, a study in Economics and Social Forces, The Moray Press, Edinburgh, 1952]

which declared illegal the right of guardianship by virtue of which the clan lords decided on the military service of their vassals[162].

3-The third piece of legislation enforced by London was called *The Forfeited Estates*[163]. *The Disarming Act and the amendments to the Heritable Jurisdiction* paved the way for ethnic cleansing through the conquest of territories by English settlers. Two laws completed this convergent legislation. The first, passed in 1747, was: "*A law entrusting to His Majesty the States* [the Lands] *of certain Traitors*". The second [passed in 1752] was "*An Act for the inalienable annexation to the Crown of certain Lands confiscated in Scotland... intended to satisfy the legal creditors; to apply the Rents and Profits in this field to establish a better civilization and improvement of the Highlands of Scotland; and to prevent disorders in these places in the future*[164]." This second law allowed everything in a colonial society, and in particular the expulsion of serfs and peasants from their homes. This was not denied by the new English lords and creditors[165]. English schools were added to the assimilation circuit. But the violence of the military authorities only delayed the process[166]. The spirit of resistance of the Scots survived "untamed the destruction by fire of many townships[167] in

[162] Mention should be made of the great progress made by the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. After being encouraged by London in its struggle against the Catholic Church, as soon as the latter church disappeared in the Lowlands, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland was also persecuted by London. The English army seized everything that was Presbyterian. Presbyterian and Episcopalian ministers were forced to abjure or swear allegiance to the King of England. They were forced to pray for the king during their religious service. In case of forgetfulness, it was six months in prison; and deportation to America in the event of a repeat offence. Enough to motivate any good pastor!
[163] The Confiscated Lands.
[164] The Scottish Jacobite Movement, see in fine
[165] "Then, the infamous Highland Clearances replaced men with sheep and hunting ranges for gentlemen's sport whence so many Gaelic speakers in Nova Scotia" (New Scotland [Canada]). Author's translation: "Then came the infamous Highland Cleansing which replaced humans with sheep and hunting grounds for gentlemen's sports, hence so many Gaelic speakers in [Canadian] Nova Scotia."
[166] Commanded by General William Anne Keppel, second Earl of Albemarle, who replaced the violent and hateful Duke of Cumberland in Scotland from 23 August 1746 to "pacify this rebellious rabble" as he called the Scots.
[167] Villages and regions.

the course of amphibious operations carried out by government troops[168]." In fact, in the long run, the system imposed to break the spirit of resistance of the Scottish people succeeded; and after a few years the consequences could be seen "on the crowded decks of the emigrant boats and in the abandoned hamlets of the deserted valleys of Scotland: *solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*." George Pratt Insh] But human malignity knows no bounds, and Upper Scotia had not yet drunk the chalice to the dregs. Half a century after that terrible battle of Culloden, which broke the backs of a people, while France's hands were tied on the continent by the interminable wars of the Revolution and the Empire [169], and therefore could not send aid to her traditional Scottish allies, the [ethnic] "cleansing" in Scotland took on as dramatic a colour as in French Acadia[170] at the time *of the Deportation of the Acadians*, or in the Canadian Prairies[171]. The situation can also be compared to the great ethnic cleansing that took place in the nineteenth century in the United States, where Native Americans were driven from their lands in favor of newcomers. In northern Scotland, the new great English landowners and lords killed two birds with one stone[172]: they rid the Highlands of its rebellious and openly anti-English population, and, at the same time, they increased the profitability of the farms[173]. One served as a pretext for the other. Almost all of the Scottish populations of the Highlands were thus expelled from

[168] Bruce Lenman, The Jacobite Risings in Britain 16891746, Eyre Methuen, London, 1980. On page 267 of the same work, Lenman adds: "In September of that year [1746] he informed the Duke of Newcastle that he was convinced that the only way to restore peace and tranquillity to Scotland was to lay waste the northern counties and deport most of its inhabitants... The frequent fantasies of mass deportation that men like Cumberland and Albemarle lulled into were the product of fanaticism and frustration."

[169] To see the influence of the French Revolution on the Celts in general and the Scots in particular, look in the General Directory of this work (Volume 1) under the heading Revolution.

[170] Around 1750.

[171] Around 1870, when English surveyors came to cut up the territory for the benefit of the settlers without taking into account the farms of the French Métis.

[172] And sometimes the elders, because the passion for profit and the prohibition of clans by the English authorities, following the Battle of Culloden, made it possible to break the sacred solidarity that united the lord and his people.

[173] And as a result the agricultural profits of this nobility who resided in London.

their lands. The pretext for this ethnic cleansing was therefore economic, but the root cause is given to us by the English Lord Adam Gordon, Commander-in-Chief in Scotland at the time: "If the strength of a nation depends on the number of its subjects, the measures which tend directly and irresistibly to reduce this number must, in all logical and judicious policies, be encouraged[174]." The fashion then[175] was to replace the traditional subsistence agriculture of this region by the breeding of the Great Sheep, or Cheviot sheep, which provided an abundance of excellent wool for export to England, whose spinning mills had until then had to import their expensive raw material from abroad, to the detriment of the balance of the country's accounts. The possession of the land by the British aristocracy was not symbolic[176], and the expulsion was legally facilitated. Tears, screams, revolts and riots were suppressed by regiments such as the Black Watch[177] or the Royal Scots Fusiliers[178], whose ranks were, despite their name, composed almost exclusively of Irishmen who remembered their own Rebellion of 1798, itself crushed in blood at Vinegar Hill, but this time by troops... Scottish. The two Celtic minorities, controlled and manipulated by the British, thus found themselves at the turning point of history in a dramatic face-to-face, and thought only of taking revenge on each other like sisters full of hatred. The cynical English High Command thus neutralized these two oppressed peoples with

[174] «If the strength of a nation depends on the number of its people, measures which tend directly and unavoidably to dispeople it ought in reason and sound policy to be encouraged.”» [c’était l’opinion privée de Lord Adam Gordon, CommanderinChief in Scotland, sur les déportations massives des populations écossaises des Highlands; tiré de Scottish Correspondences, volume V, 19 août 1792]; cité dans Scotland and the French Revolution, de Meikle, Henry, W., éditionsJames MacLehose & Sons, Publishers to the University of Glasgow, Glasgow, 1912.

[175] Encouraged, propagated and subsidized by the Society for the Improvement of British Wool.

[176] As if, in France, the Duke of Burgundy had decided to exile all the Burgundian populations on the pretext that he needed all the land in his province to raise the Cheviot sheep, which would provide him with more income than the taxes paid by the hundreds of thousands of peasants who lived there from agriculture. This was to push the right of property far beyond what noble titles implied and morally permitted. But in the Scottish Highlands, the real aim was to empty the country of its protesting population who supported an expatriate Catholic king.

[177] The 42nd Foot Regiment, *i.e.* the 42nd Infantry Regiment.

[178] Le 21st Foot Regiment.

genius. The process of clearing the Highlands went like this[179]: First, Prince's English agent[180]came to a village with the sheriff and the local pastor, the latter two acting as interpreters, as the agent usually spoke only English. *Summons of Removal* or *Writs of Eviction* listing the victims were given to the population. In Gaelic, the sheriff would make a speech advising those who intended to oppose their expulsion by force that the troops were on a war footing and that the consequences might be incalculable for them and their families. Then the pastor took over, exhorting them passionately; he explained to them that it was God himself who had placed Monsieur le Duc or Madame la Comtesse at the head of this region, and that to oppose their Will was a mortal sin that condemned them mercilessly to the flames of eternal Hell. The pastor was not expelled, at least not at the beginning of the proceedings[181]. To avoid falling into narrow sectarianism, it can be said that the intervention of the Protestant religious hierarchy on behalf of the oppressors and the powerful can be compared to that of the Catholic clergy of Canada for the English government in many circumstances, particularly when the French Métis revolted on the Canadian Prairie[182], or on the occasion of the two invasions of Canada by the Americans in 1775 and 1812. In the latter two cases the French Canadians were threatened with excommunication if they took advantage of this foreign intervention to try to shake off the yoke of England. Negotiations had taken place in secret between the English government and the Catholic Clergy. On the other hand, the Catholic clergy of Acadia supported the people.

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[179] According to the English historian John Prebble, The Highland Clearances, Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd, London, 1963. *See in fine*.

[180] Which was absent, of course; still at the royal court of London; especially in those delicate moments when sometimes dangerous insurrections arose, sometimes embarrassing and guilt-inducing pleas.

[181] The Good Shepherd might well have suspected that if his human sheep were taken away from him, he would be of no use to the Cheviot sheep, and that he himself would be discarded

[182] See in the General Directory of this encyclopedia the battles of L'AnseauPoisson and Batoche.

In Scotland, the *Writ of Eviction*, preceded by the public rumour which had enabled the Scots to secure their most precious possessions, was followed by the burning of village houses and sometimes crops[183]. Most of the inhabitants accepted with fatalism to be dispossessed of their native land. Others revolted, and in this case, as with the American Indians, the army immediately intervened to crush in blood the recalcitrant who had the audacity to "break the law." The rest were deported to distant Australia, frigid Canada or other British settlements. Sometimes it was drama, the English historian John Prebble cites the case of a very old Scottish woman, impotent, too ill to be moved. Patrick Sellar, English agent of the Lord of Sutherland[184], then flew into a violent rage: "*Damn her, the old witch; she has lived too long. Let her burn !*" So his house was set on fire, and the Scots rushed to pull the impotent man out of the flames. Seriously wounded, she died within five days. The old rarely survived this uprooting. They sat in the field, prostrate, in the field in front of their burnt house, surrounded by their herds saved from the disaster; They slept for a few days in the rain before death came to take them under its now reassuring wing. Prebble recounts[185] the experience of one of these Scottish victims: "At 11:00 p.m. that evening Donald Macleod climbed a hill, probably to the top of the little hill of Rossall, behind the ruins of his house, and, from there, he could count 250 burning houses, "which belonged to persons, many of whom were relatives; but of which he knew all the owners personally. The burning villages formed a line more than 15 km long, from Grummore on the loch, northwards, to Skail..."" If the old preferred not to survive such a calamity, the younger and more vigorous expellees could go wherever they pleased, they were told, provided they did not remain in the

[183] For the crops, the false pretext was that the burned crops generated excellent grass for sheep, like the African burns!
[184] Whose full name was Most Noble George Granville Leveson Gower, 2nd Marquess of Stafford, 3rd Earl Gower and Viscount Trentham, 4th Lord Gower of Stittenham in Yorkshire, 8th Baronet of Stittenham, and, during the last six months of his life, 1st Duke of Sutherland, his Scottish Duchy.
[185] The Highland Clearances, see *in fine.*

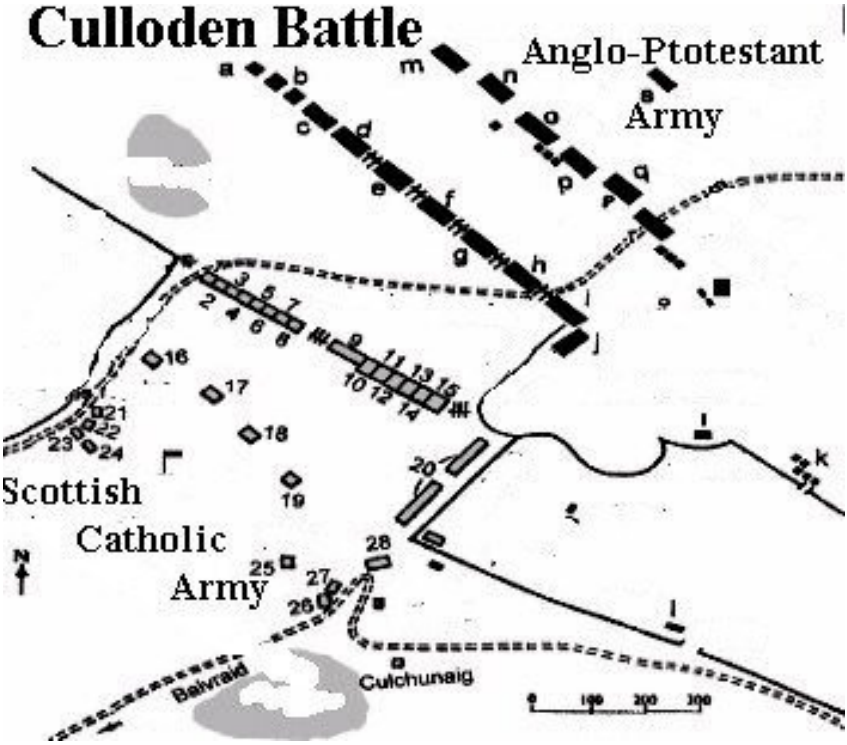
territory of the Duchy[186], reserved for flocks of sheep. They also had the leisure to head to the coast where huts had sometimes been built for them. Often they were not and families had to sleep in the rain. The competent authorities had, of course, planned ships for the English colonies, including Canada, and the army recruiters, with their inviting smiles, were very active because the Scottish Highlander had always been a particularly valiant soldier. Dozens of regiments were thus raised to go and fight, in the other colonies, the populations who did not want to accept the English boot. Those who absolutely wanted to stay in the country could, in complete freedom, indulge in... fishing. This was the impossible alternative[187] that had been officially planned for the deportees who did not want to go into exile on all these distant shores. As for their native land, emptied of its population, it was given over to the flocks of Cheviot sheep and to the shepherds, English or Lowlanders. As expected, the Scottish insurrections eventually disappeared for lack of fighters, and the woolly sheep brought in 15 or 20 times more to the lords of the country than the hundreds of thousands of inhabitants who had previously inhabited the Highlands.

In Canada, Francophones were drowned[188] by the influx of these involuntary Scottish immigrants, who were finally flattered and delighted to become colonizers[189]1 after having been colonized. Today, 50,000,000 North Americans claim to be of Scottish origin, and the Highlands have remained almost as depopulated as

[186] Nor on that of the neighbours, for cleaning was rapidly widespread throughout the Highlands.
[187] This was impossible because the only boats provided were used for emigration and not for fishing.
[188] Everywhere except in Quebec. Large colonies were established everywhere: in Nova Scotia, of course, but also in British Columbia, then called New Caledonia, the poetic Roman name for Scotland, and in Manitoba, where agricultural concessions were carved out of the farms of the French Métis, who in turn revolted and were dispersed and destroyed by the colonial army. Ethnic clashes occurred in Manitoba. Nothing is more oppressive than an oppressed people!
[189] Au Manitoba, par exemple, dans la Colonie de la Rivière Rouge. In Manitoba, for example, in the Red River Colony. In Ontario, the Scots were settled along the border of the Province of Quebec to serve as a buffer between the English settlers in the interior and the recalcitrant and even rebellious Quebecers.

they once were. The ethnic cleansing was certainly a brilliant success. It is a sad fate for these Celtic countries of the British Isles, which must no doubt regard their sister, French Brittany, as privileged.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦John Prebble, *Culloden,* ***Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd,*** Londres, 1965.♦T.M. Devine & David Dickson, *Ireland and Scotland****, 16001850, Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development,*** ***John Donald Publishers*** Ltd, Edinburgh, 1983.♦Alexander Robertson, *Extermination of the Scottish Peasantry****, Londres, 1853. [Écrit sour le pseudonyme de R. Alister pour éviter les représailles du*** gouvernement anglais].♦R.H. Murray, *Revolutionary Ireland and its Settlement****. Lon***dres, 1911.♦Hartpole, William, Edward Lecky, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century,* ***Volume 1, Longmans, Green & Co, London, Bombay [Mumbai] & Calcutta,*** 1879.♦Lord Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II****, London, 1861.***



♦1. Glengarry – 2. Kappoch – 3. Clanranald – 4. Duke of Perth – 5. Glenbucket – 6. John Rosy Stuart – 7. Farquharson – 8. McLean and McLachlan – 9. Mackintosh – 10. Fraser – 11. Appin – 12. Cameron – 13. Brigade d'Atholl, 1st battery 14. Brigade of Atholl, 3rd battery 15. Brigade of Atholl, 2nd battery – 16. IrishPiquets – 17. Royal Scots – 18. Foot Guards – 19. Ld. L. Gordon – 20. Ld. Ogilvy – 21. Hussards – 22. Perthshire – 23. Stonywood – 24. Banner Bearer – 25. Body Guards of Balmerino – 26. Body Guards of Ld. Elcho – 27. Fitz James – 28.Avuchie ♦ a. Cobham Dragoons – b. Kingston Light Cavalry – c. Pulteney – d. Royal Scots – e. Cholmondeley – f. Price – g. Royal Scott Fusiliers – h. Munro – i. Barrel – j. Wolfe k. Ld.M.Kerr Dragoons – l. Campbell Clan – m. Battereau – n. Howard – o. Fleming – p. Bligh – q. Sempill – r. Ligonier – s. Blakeney – Priv.Coll.

Battle of Dettingen.

Date of the action: June 27, 1743.

Location: City located on the right bank of the Main, 8 km northwest of Aschaffenburg, on Route 8, Germany. Geographical coordinates: 50° 02' north latitude, and 08° 58' east longitude. [See the toponymic map located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend, from 10 to 23 August 1745].

Background: France and England were officially at peace until March 15, 1744, when Louis XV declared war on England. Until 1743, the war had raged only in the provinces whose sovereignty was supposed to be taken from the Queen of Hungary. Then it had spread to Silesia, Austria, and Bohemia. The defection of the King of Prussia extended it to the German Empire. The Austrian army was joined by the English, the Hanoverians, and the Hessians. Until then, Cardinal de Fleury, the prime minister who disapproved of this war, tried to keep France in her role as an auxiliary. But on January 19, 1943, this wise statesman died and Louis XV decided to govern alone. As if to give Louis XV a pretext, the Anglo-Hanoverian troops had left their cantonments on the 20th of February and crossed the Rhine. In the spring of 1743, Marshal de Noailles was given the task of opposing the Allied offensive projects. Attacked from the front and threatened with having the Hungarians in his rear, de Noailles watched the English and locked them up between the Spesard and the Main [Mayn] at Aschaffenburg. The King of England wanted to retreat towards *Hanau*[190], but de Noailles detached his nephew [Grammont] to Dettingen, ordering

[190] A town belonging to the King of Sweden that the French did not want to offend.

him to bar the defile to the English. The English were short of food and would soon find themselves starving, or else they would have to get out of this predicament as quickly as possible.

Commanders in the action ♦*French*: The Marshal Duc de Noailles[191] and his nephew the General Duc de Grammont. ♦*English*: The King of England, George II., commanded the Anglo-Austro-Hanovro-Hessian Army[192].

Troops involved ♦*Anglo-Allied*: 50,000 men. ♦*French*: 15 or 20,000 men. The rest of the French army in the field did not have time to cross the river to participate in the battle.

Strategy or Tactics: The King of England retreated down the course of the Main with his army, nicknamed the *Pragmatic Army* because it supported the *Pragmatic Sanction*. Its northward stall was blocked by swamps and a wooded mountainous area; to the south by the course of the Main, which he could not cross on his boat pontoons because of the presence of the French army on the other bank. The King of England was therefore obliged to continue to descend the course of the Main to the south in order to continue his retreat; and he was to pass through the defile of Dettingen. Marshal de Noailles, on the south bank, sent Grammont to Dettingen. The latter was to cross the Main to cross the bank where the English were and block this obligatory passage, the defile. The village of Dettingen was in fact cut by a stream, the Beck, which formed

[191] Louis, marshal-duke of Noailles, was born on August 21, 1713. Captain of the Scottish Company in 1731 1 until 1776, brigadier on 1 January 1740, maréchal de camp on 14 May 1743, lieutenant-general on 1 January 1748, Chevalier des Ordres on 2 February 1749 then governor of Saint-Germain, and governor-general of Roussillon.

[192] George II, King of Great Britain and Ireland from 1727 to 1760, was called George Augustus of Hanover, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg. He was born on November 10, 1683 at the Palace of Herrenhausen in Germany. He was Prince elector of the Holy Roman Empire. He was the son of George I, Louis, Hereditary Prince of Brunwick-Lüneburg and his wife Sophie de Celle, whom he divorced in 1694 for adultery. His policy was controlled by his Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole, who was himself controlled by the financial lobbies of the City of London. George II married Caroline of Brandenburg-Ansbach in 1705. He died on 25 October 1760.

a ravine above the village. Its banks were covered with trees and hedges; it could only be reached by a steep road; so, the Anglo-Allied army was to march in thin columns along this sunken road. The attached map is a copy of an old English map and does not perfectly reflect reality. Noailles' project was that, as soon as the first column of English infantry was engaged in the defile of Dettingen, on the other side of the stream, the French brigades would place themselves between the column and the stream and attack it from the rear, while the King's House and the main body of the French infantry would charge it in front. To prevent the other Allied columns from supporting the first column, the French would pound them with several large artillery batteries provided for this purpose and posted on the other [southern] bank of the Main. "Georges would have paid dearly for it at Dettingen, on the Mayn, had it not been for the imprudent movement of the Duke of Grammont; for the arrangement of the Marshal de Noailles was worthy of the greatest strategist[193]". The King of England feared for his life. Frederick the Great, discreetly mocking, commented on this battle in his memoirs and attributed the German troops with having saved the king: "The King of England remained throughout the battle, on foot in front of his Hanoverian battalion, his left foot behind, sword in hand and right arm extended, more or less in the attitude in which the masters of arms put themselves to push the fourth: he gave marks of valor, but no order relative to the battle."

Summary of the action: On the morning of June 27, a large battery of French artillery, established on the left bank of the Main, began to pound the left flank of the Anglo-Allied army, visible on the right bank. De Noailles observed the movements of the Anglo-Allies who were already retreating under the rapid and destructive fire of the French artillery. Disorder spread through their columns, and victory seemed already assured for de Noailles, when suddenly,

[193] Frederick II, King of Prussia.

the Duc de Grammont, at the sight of the allied disorder and wishing to make a name for himself[194], emerged from Dettingen at the head of the French Guards, right in the path of the French artillery which was bombarding over the Main. Noailles' batteries were thus forced into silence for fear of striking down the troops of his nephew Grammont. At last rid of the murderous fire which had mowed them down in whole ranks, the English regained confidence and reformed their ranks. De Noailles then brought 5 brigades, the King's Household, a few units of Cavalry and Dragoons to the battlefield. Even the attacks of these famous regiments[195], which had a high fighting value, broke against the enemies who were too numerous and too concentrated. The French broke through the front lines, but they were immediately reformed and sent deluges of musketry fire against the French attackers. However, the narrow bridge at Dettingen did not allow the bulk of the French army to cross the Main in sufficient time to intervene on the battlefield. Soon the confusion was extreme: gendarmes, musketeers, light horsemen, bodyguards, grenadiers fought desperately to try to break through the lines which, like the Lernaean hydra, were immediately reformed. The battle lasted three long hours with 15 or 20,000 men against 50,000 Anglo-allies. Marshal de Noailles, seeing that he would never succeed in breaking such a compact enemy mass, decided to switch from the offensive to the defensive. Around 4:30 p.m., he gave the order to retreat beyond the parade where the French units reconstituted themselves before recrossing the Main in order. The English saw the French pass through the parade with immense relief. Knowing that they would be attacked the next morning, they broke camp by taking advantage of the darkness of the night and hurried south to continue their retreat to the south, hastily abandoning two pieces of artillery and more than

[194] In order, some claimed, to win the marshal's baton.
[195] King's House, Bodyguards.

600 English wounded. Lord Stairs[196] sent a letter to Marshal de Noailles to recommend these abandoned wounded soldiers to his benevolence. The French had them treated in their hospitals.

Casualties ♦*French*: 600 killed, and 1,200 wounded. ♦*Anglo-allies*: 1,700 killed and 2,000 wounded.

As a result of this English defeat, the Anglo-Allied army managed to disengage and disappear during the night, but the danger faced by the King of England, George II, who was almost taken prisoner by the French, subsequently prevented him from taking any concerted action with the other Allied armies. This aborted the invasion of France. This was a very important strategic consequence for the French. In France, the untimely and absurd action of Grammont, who believed, by his offensive, to collect laurels and the marshal's baton, was the object of bitter ridicule[197]. On account of his high birth, he was not punished by Louis XV, but, despairing of having caused the capture of the king of England to be missed by his lack of judgment, and of being the object of this ridicule, Grammont was killed (some say voluntarily) at the battle of Fontenoy, two years later. The lesson had been sufficient for this highly impressionable King of England. It was the last time a British king commanded on a battlefield against the French. However, he succeeded in presenting the French failure to capture them to the English people as a great personal victory, and at his request a book was published in London which presented Dettingen as a victory[198]. As a result, many English historians today present

[196] English Marshal. John Dalrymple, 1st Earl of Stair (1648–1707) rose in prominence as a lawyer, Secretary of State for Scotland, and participant in the aftermath of the *Glencoe Massacre*. He was granted the earldom in 1703.
[197] "*The Day of the Broken Sticks*".
[198] British Glory Reviv'd. Being a complete collection of all the accounts, papers, expresses and private letters, relating to the late glorious action at Dettingen, between the army of the allies of the Q. of Hungary, under the command of His Britannic Majesty: and the French army under the command of the Duke de Noailles, J. Roberts, Londres, 1743.

Dettingen as an English victory. To convince the last hesitant, he had *Te Deums* sung throughout England. That year, the English took up their winter quarters very early, on October 9, to the great surprise of the French; and their king returned to London, happy to have escaped without further humiliation. Never again did he participate in another battle as Louis XV did. The other Allies [the Dutch] withdrew much later, on November 25.

Following this misadventure, George II unfortunately compared the mediocre quality of the English regiments with that of his Hanoverian compatriots. As was to be expected, his words reached the ears of his English subjects, who were deeply shocked by their frowning patriotism. Thus, when he returned to London, the English capital entered into a great anti-Georgian ferment and Parliament undertook to let him know it, as can be read in the Parliamentary Debates, of which here is an extract from the work of the historian Coxe. The latter reported that, on his return to England, after Dettingen, George II realized that he had become "extremely unpopular... rumours that he had shown a preference for his Hanoverian troops to the detriment of British soldiers gave rise to outbursts no less general and vehement than those uttered against William III of England[199] who had favored his Dutch soldiers. The toast of "*No Hanoverian king!*" was not uncommon in large company; and the very name of '*Hanoverian*' became a term of disgrace and discredit[200]." Such was the jealousy and malignity on this occasion, that the Whig Thomas Pelham Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and at the same time 1st Duke of

[199] William of Orange who became king of England

[200] William Coxe, Archdeacon of Wilts, Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, earl of Orford, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, Londres, 1816. Vol.IV, Ch.62, p.329 et suiv. "George the Second was extremely unpopular… rumours of the preference he showed to the Hanoverian before the British forces, occasioned clamors no less general and vehement, than those excited against William for favoring the Dutch. The toast of "No Hanoverian king" was not unfrequently given in large companies; and the very name of a Hanoverian became a term of disgrace and obloquy."

Newcastle-under-Lyne, brother of the Prime Minister Henry Pelham[201], proposed to take revenge, not directly against the King, but against his beloved German mercenaries by throwing them out of the country. Newcastle "showed himself violent on this subject, and after demanding the necessity of dismissing them, he stigmatized them under the name of *'a band of soldiers, whose opinions have guided our action, and whose fears have prevented our victories*[202]." It seems obvious that the first part of the last proposition ("whose opinions guided our action") refers to the king who thought only of protecting his Electorate of Hanover, and that the second part ("whose fears prevented our victories") refers to the German troops who were the ones who were afraid and fled before the French. This missive is extremely important for establishing the historical truth, as it is the only time that a member of the English Parliament has privately acknowledged, in a letter that should never have fallen into the public domain, that the *Dettingen campaign was a defeat*. While, officially, the king had celebrated this flight as a victory, just as Churchill celebrated the shameful flight from Dunkirk and the French battlefields in 1940 as a heroic victory[203].

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[201] Which perhaps explains all these pompous titles for this Whig. Henry Pelham was Whig Prime Minister from 1743 to 1754.

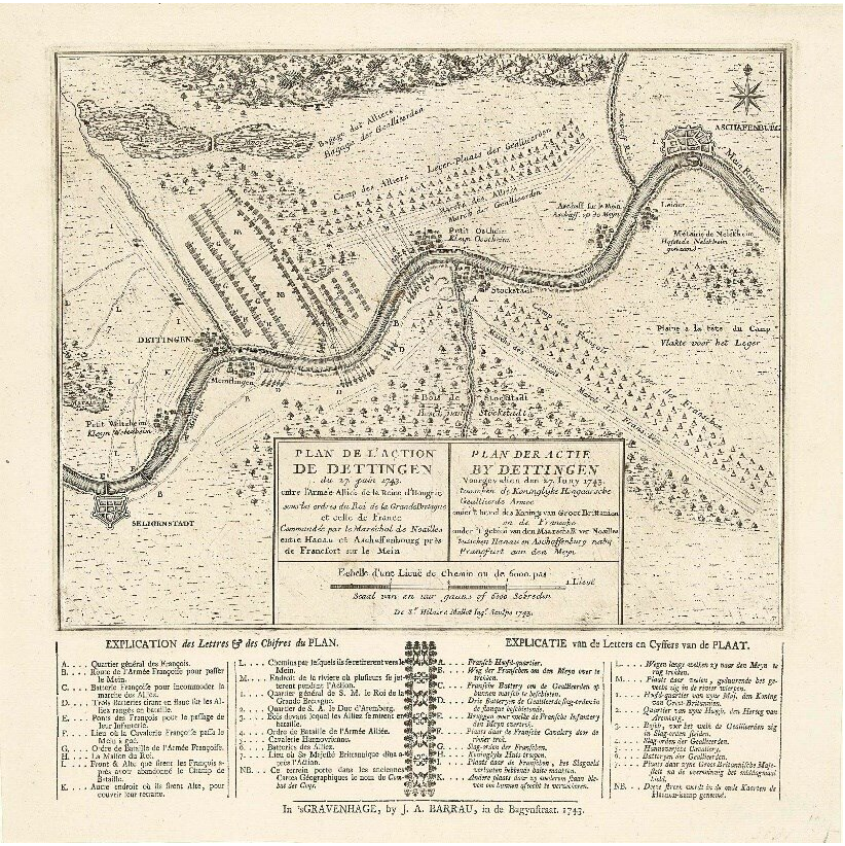
[202] "Newcastle was violent on this head, and after enforcing the necessity of their dismission, stigmatized them by the appellation of a "body of troops, whose views have directed our motions, and whose fears have checked our victories,"The excerpt is taken from the Duke of Newcastle's letter to Lord Hardwicke, dated November 7, 1743, which can be found in the Yorke/Hardwicke Papers on the War of the Austrian Succession, Historical Manuscripts Commission, National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, UK.

[203] He was not the only one in history. After his terrible defeat at Poltva against Tsar Peter the Great, the great king and strategist Charles XII of Sweden fled from the battlefield covered with his brave "carolins" (nickname of the soldiers of Charles XII, Karl XII or Carolus in Latin) in full putrefaction, and, without being discouraged, wrote to his sister "with an unconsciousness that borders on madness: "Everything went well!" Henri Troyat, *Pierre le Grand*, Flammarion, Paris, 1979. p.144. On page 130 of the same work, Troyat also quotes Tsar Peter the Great who, after his terrible defeat at Narva (in turn) by the works of the Swedish king Charles XII, presented this battle to the Russians as a victory, and forbade Russia to evoke it in any other way. "Abroad, Russian ambassadors are

Frederick the Great of Prussia, with discreet mockery, later recalled the scene (in his *Memoirs*) of the King of England fearing for his life. He credited the German troops serving in the English army with saving the monarch: "Throughout the battle, the King of England remained on foot before his Hanoverian battalion, his left leg drawn back, sword in hand, and right arm outstretched—almost in the stance adopted by fencing masters when delivering the quarte thrust. He displayed signs of valor, but issued not a single order concerning the conduct of the battle."

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Jean Engelbert duc d'Arenberg, **Three Battles (Salankemen 1691, Dettingen 1743, Hochkirch 1758) and three dukes of Arenberg**, Archives and Cultural Centre of Arenberg, Enghien, 2001. ♦**Combat de Dettingen du 27 juin 1743 entre les alliés de l'Empereur et de la reine d'Hongrie,** Publications Le Rouge, Paris, no date. ♦**The Definitive treaty of peace, union, friendship and mutual defence, between the crowns of Great Britain, Hungary and Sardinia, concluded at Worms on the 2/13 of September, 1743**, published by Edward Owen, London, 1743. [Original Text in French, with English translation added]. ♦Maurice Sautai, **Les Débuts de la guerre de la succession d'Autriche. Tome Ier : l'entrée en Bavière et en HauteAutriche**, R. Chapelot, Paris, 1909.

being ordered to present the Narva affair as the result of treason. But in The Hague as in Vienna, in London as in Versailles, no one is fooled." In 1688, during the Russian military campaign against the Crimean Tartars, Basil Golitzin, the lover of the Regent Sophia of Russia, whom she had appointed, out of amorous blindness, Generalissimo of the Russian Armies, was totally defeated. "The horsemen of the steppe harassed the rearguard, which disbanded. Wagons and cannons were left behind, twenty thousand dead, fifteen thousand prisoners, that was the price of the debacle." But the Regent refused to admit defeat. "Te Deum, triumphal arches, cannon firing, bell ringing greet the return of the 'heroes'." Troyat, p.39.


PLAN DE L'ACTION
DE DETTINGEN
du 27 juin 1743.
entre l'Armée Alliée de la Reine d'Hongrie
sous les ordres du Roi de la Grande Bretagne
et celle de France
Commandée par le Maréchal de Noailles
entre Hanau et Aschaffenbourg près
de Francfort sur le Mein
PLAN DER ACTIE
BY DETTINGEN
Voorgevallen den 27. Juny 1743.
tusschen de Koninglyke Hongaarsche
Geallieerde Armee
onder 't bevel des Konings van Groot Brittanien
en de Franschen
onder 't gebied van den Maarschalk van Noailles
tusschen Hanau en Aschaffenburg nabij
Frankfort aan den Meyn.
Echelle d'une Lieuë de Chemin ou de 6000 pas
1 Lieuë
Scaal van een uur gaans of 6000 Schreden.
De S.r Hilaire Mallet Ingr. Sculpt. 1743.
EXPLICATION des Lettres & des Chifres du PLAN.
A. . . . Quartier général des François.
B. . . . Route de l'Armée Françoise pour passer le Mein.
C. . . . Batterie Françoise pour incommoder la marche des Alliés.
D. . . . Trois Batteries tirant en flanc sur les Alliés rangés en bataille.
E. . . . Ponts des François pour le passage de leur Infanterie.
F. . . . Lieu où la Cavalerie Françoise passa le Mein à gué.
G. . . . Ordre de Bataille de l'Armée Françoise.
H. . . . La Maison du Roi.
I. . . . Front & Aile, qui firent les François après avoir abandonné le Champ de Bataille.
K. . . . Autre endroit où ils firent Aile, pour couvrir leur retraite.
L. . . . Chemins par lesquels ils se retirerent vers le Mein.
M. . . . Endroit de la riviere où plusieurs se jetterent pendant l'Action.
1. . . . Quartier général de S. M. le Roi de la Grande Bretagne.
2. . . . Quartier de S. A. le Duc d'Arembourg.
3. . . . Rois devant lequel les Alliez se mirent en bataille.
4. . . . Ordre de Bataille de l'Armée Alliée.
5. . . . Cavalerie Hanovrienne.
6. . . . Batteries des Alliez.
7. . . . Lieu où le Majesté Britannique dînoit avant l'Action.
NB. . . . Ce terrein porte dans les anciennes Cartes Géographiques le nom de Cimbal des Cayes.
EXPLICATIE van de Letters en Cyffers van de PLAAT.
A. . . . Fransch Hoofd-quartier.
B. . . . Weg der Franschen om den Meyn over te treden.
C. . . . Fransche Battery om de Geallieerden op hunnen marsch te beschieten.
D. . . . Drie Batterijen de Geallieerde slag-ordeche te slaagen beschietende.
E. . . . Bruggen voor welke de Fransche Infantery den Meyn overtrok.
F. . . . Plaats daar de Fransche Cavalery door de rivier trok.
G. . . . Slag-orden der Franschen.
H. . . . Koninglyke Huis-tragen.
I. . . . Plaats daar de Franschen, het Slagveld verlaten hebbende zich maakten.
K. . . . Andere plaats daar zy zoeken staan hebben om hunnen afsnelt te verwachten.
L. . . . Wegen langs welken zy naar den Meyn te rug trokken.
M. . . . Plaats daar zullen, gedurende het gevecht zig in de rivier vergen.
1. . . . Hoofd-quartier van zyne Maj. den Koning van Groot Brittanien.
2. . . . Quartier van zyne Hoogh. den Hertog van Arenberg.
3. . . . Rijen, voor het welk de Geallieerden zig in Slag-orden stelden.
4. . . . Slag-orden der Geallieerden.
5. . . . Hanovrische Cavalery.
6. . . . Batterijen der Geallieerden.
7. . . . Plaats daar zyne Groot Brittannische Majesteit na de overwinning het middagmaal hield.
NB. . . . Deeze Steen wordt in de oude Kaarten de Hanau-kamp genoemd.
In 'sGRAVENHAGE, by J. A. BARRAU, in de Bagynstraat. 1743.

Battle of Falkirk.

Date of the action: January 17, 1746

Location: Scotland. Geographical coordinates: 56°00' North latitude; 03º 48' West Longitude.

Conflicts: War of the Austrian Succession [17401748]. Campaign in Scotland and England by Prince CharlesEdward Stuart [23 years old], candidate for the thrones of Scotland and England.

Background: This battle, which is rarely mentioned by English authors for obvious reasons, should not be confused with the Anglo-Scottish Battle of Falkirk on 22 July 1298, one of the many battles that took place throughout the common history of these two nations, until England definitively annexed Scotland. In 1746, this country was de facto occupied by England, and the Scottish Lowlands had ended up submitting with its capital Edinburgh to the dictate of the neighboring country. But digestion was bad, and London had to impose an iron fist to assimilate this naturally rebellious people. The most refractory were still the Highland shepherds who occupied the entire northern part from Loch Ness and Inverness, the gateway to the Highlands. There lived the proudest Scottish clans and the most rebellious to any English takeover. Revolts took place regularly and some occurred until the middle of the nineteenth century. On this nationalist background were grafted the English religious wars: the Jacobites[204] against the royal army. Charles

[204] The name Jacobite first identified the supporters of King James II of England. It should be remembered that his father, James I Stuart [1566-1625] was the son of Mary Stuart, therefore a Scotsman, born in Edinburgh. He had become King of Scotland under the name of James VI. Thanks to his intransigence towards the Catholics, he had succeeded Elizabeth I on the throne of England in

Edward Stuart landed in Scotland [July 1745], raised an army in the Highlands, and marched south. Edinburgh fell into his hands on September 17, the inhabitants not being ready to fight for England[205]. The Scottish army, joined by a host of Lowland Scots, defeated Sir John Cope's English army at Prestonpans [East Lothian], crossed the English frontier [November], and marched to London, where Charles Edward wanted to regain power from the Hanoverian dynasty. He made it as far as Derby, just 200 km from London. There he learned that a French reinforcement had just landed at Montrose [Scotland] under the command of Jehan Drummond, brother of the Duke of Perth. He also learned that three British armies totaling 30,000 men were concentrating to face his 5000 volunteers. He then turned back. Paradoxically, it was this change of route, which resembled a renunciation, that prompted the French to *cancel their own landing in the south* of England. The Franco-Scottish negotiations that he himself had begun had borne fruit. On October 23, 1745, the *Treaty of Fontainebleau* had been signed between the Marquis d'Argenson, who represented Louis XV, and Colonel O'Brien, on behalf of Charles Edward, Prince Regent of Scotland. The King of France undertook to provide the regent with the logistical and financial means to organize the expedition, to launch a diversionary invasion in the south of England [10,000

1603 under the name of James I of England and Ireland. He also persecuted the Puritans, who had to emigrate, and thus populated the 13 American colonies. His son, James II, King of England and Ireland [and King of Scotland as James VII], was born in London in 1633, but had the bad idea of converting to Catholicism, which was to cause many deaths. Despite the Test Act which forbade any office to Catholics, he succeeded in succeeding his brother [Charles II] in 1685 on the triple throne. There was then an outcry in England where another religious war broke out, especially when the English offered the crown to James II's son-in-law, the "fundamentalist" William of Orange-Nassau, stadtholder of the United Provinces [Netherlands]. The supporters of King James II of England were then called the Jacobites, and the Protestants, supporters of the usurper, the Orangemen. At the end of this war, William of Orange became King of England and his army the Royal Army. James II's son, Charles Edward, who was also a Catholic, was in command at the Battle of Falkirk and was forced to take refuge in France.

[205] Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, also known as the Young Knight, 17201788, was the grandson of James II., the Catholic King of England dethroned by William of Orange, and son of James, known as the Old Pretender, who bore in exile the title of King James III. The Scots now consider Bonnie Prince Charlie a national hero.

men], and to provide in the north a complement of French troops mainly taken from the Irish and Scottish units of the French army [206]. He then fought the *battle of Preston* [at the end of September] with the Royal Army of England. On Christmas Day he entered Glasgow where he was stationed for a week and then resumed his march to Falkirk.

Chiefs involved ♦*Franco-Scottish*: Prince Charles Edward; Lord Jehan, Duke of Perth or John Drummond (naturalized French); George Murray[207]; clan chiefs. In fact, Prince Charlie himself[208] cared little for the Highlanders and shamelessly used them to regain the throne of England from which his grandfather had allowed himself to be dispossessed. This was the only motivation he had and he would have fought to the last Highlander to achieve his ambition. ♦*English*: Lieutenant-General Henry Hawley.

Troops involved ♦8,000 men in each of the two armies. Both armies lacked artillery; the Highlanders had left their guns behind.

Strategy or Tactics : In 1745, Charles Edward negotiated with the French for logistical and strategic assistance as he planned to intervene in Scotland. He would land in the Highlands with the help of the Royal Navy, and would soon be joined by some French troops. As soon as English forces began to concentrate in the north to crush the insurrection, an army of 10,000 French troops would land in the south as a strategic diversion, forcing the English into a

[206] The Irish and the Scots formed several units of the French army. Some soldiers and officers had been naturalized French for a long time.
[207] Lord George Murray (October 4 169411, 1760) was a Scottish Jacobite general. He was the 5th son of John Murray, 1st Duke of Atholl, chief of Clan Murray by his first wife Catherine, daughter of the 3rd Duke of Hamilton.
[208] Charles Edward Louis Philippe Casimir Stuart, *the Young Pretender*, the Young Knight or Bonnie Prince Charlie, grandson of the Catholic King of England James II [who reigned from 1685 to 1688] and who was overthrown by his own daughter, Mary of William of Orange, who had been brought up secretly as a Protestant. Charles Edward was the son of the Old Pretender James Stuart. The Stuarts of Scotland were removed from the English throne because of their Catholic religion, in favor of the Dutch family of Orange and then the German family of Brunswick.

hasty return that would not fail to recall the strategic context of the Battle of Hastings, in 1066, when William the Bastard had landed in the south of England, while the English army of Harold Godwinson had been drawn to the North by the landing of the Norwegian king Harold Hardrada, who also coveted the throne of England. The diversion had been involuntary but effective.

FRANCO-SCOTTISH DEPLOYMENT

In the front line, from right to left, the clans from the eastern Highlands: the MacGregors, the Keppochs, the Clanranalds, the Glengarrys, the Appins, the Camerons, the Frasers[209], and the Macphersons. On the extreme right, commanded Georges Murray [who fought on foot, as was his custom]. On the far left, the only commander-in-chief was Jehan Drummond, who seemed to want to concern himself only with his French regiment, jealously guarded in reserve in the second line, so much so that he was not engaged at all. In the second line were the Lowland clans[210], the Athole, the Ogilvie, the Gordon, the Farquharson, the Cromarty, and finally, the French, who were to serve as the *Tactical Reserve*. Prince Charles Edward posted himself on an eminence[211], behind the French, with the cavalry.

ENGLISH ARMY DEPLOYMENT

The royal army had ranged itself in front of the Scots, on a ground rather inclined to the north because of the swamp and the declivity. The battlefield, Falkirk Muir, was then a gently sloping terrain, now softened by the earthworks required to cross the Union Canal and the Edinburgh-Glasgow Railway. But at the time, it was

[209] Commanded by the master of Lovat.
[210] Lowlands, as opposed to Highlands.
[211] Still called Charlie's Hill. He wanted to fight and, according to tradition, he had been implored not to risk his dynasty on a simple fight. In fact, his death would have solved the dynastic problem and would have spared many human lives.

an irregular surface entirely covered with moorland and heather. Both armies had lined up on the elevation of the ground, the Highlanders slightly lower than the English. No fence hindered the maneuvers, but a talweg, called *a dean* in Scotland, began almost in the center of the line of battle and extended widening down the slope, towards the north, precisely between the two armies. In fact, this ravine, too steep to be easily crossed on either side, separated two-thirds of the English from half of the army of Highlanders facing it. Because of the convexity of the ground, the wings could not be seen in either army. The troops of Argyle and Ligonier had been posted in the talweg, and the Glasgow regiment in a farm behind the English left wing. The cavalry was pawing a little in front of the infantry [English left wing]. General Hawley commanded the center, Brigadier Cholmondley the left, and Major-General Huske the right.

In the front line, from left to right, the battalions lined up: Wolfe, Cholmondley, the Scots Royals, Price and Ligonier. In the second line, the battalions of Blakeney, Monro, Fleming, Barrel and Battereau. The Tactical Reserve consisted of the Glasgow Regiment, and the Howard and Argyle Militia. Some parts of the Highlands, severely battered by English reprisals after the 1715 insurrection, were slower to take up arms in 1745. Thus, the district of Braemar[212] where the Jacobite standard had been raised in 1715. "Francis Farquharson, as has been mentioned, narrowly escaped execution, while James, of Balmoral, was severely wounded at Falkirk. In preparation for this Battle of Falkirk, Balmoral deployed his men in the form of a protruding wedge; he walked in front, two men behind him in the second row, three men behind them in the

[212] More precisely, Braes of Mar. After the final victory of the English, the old castle of Braemar was completely rebuilt and an English garrison was stationed there in order to keep the local clans under control, and later to prevent smuggling. Odo Blundell, The Catholic Highlands of Scotland, Sand & CO, Edinburgh, 1909. Volume 1 The Central Highlands, Braemar District Chapter, page 101. Vatican Library only; the British Library copy had been destroyed.

third row, four in the fourth... etc. "*Now, guys! Walk in silence,* he said. *Don't fire a single shot until you can see the color of the horses' eyes. So at that time you fire a volley all together, and then you throw your guns and you fall on the horses, you cut their bridles, and at that point, you can take care of the men*." As the progress was silent, a bullet struck Balmoral in the shoulder. "*Four men,* shouted his squire, *to carry your wounded chief to the rear!*" "*Never!*" cried Balmoral, *I want four men to carry your chief at the head of his children to the height of the fight!*"

Summary of the Action: It was only 4:00 p.m. but a thunderstorm was already covering the battlefield with darkness. Hawley, seeing that the Highlander left wing was not fully deployed, ordered his Dragoons to advance. He wanted to take advantage of the disorder and thought that the Highlanders would not resist three regiments of Cavalry[213]. The English cavalry moved slowly; but, to his surprise, instead of retreating, the Highlanders of the right wing advanced to meet them, under the command of George Murray, who issued incessant orders to keep his troops in line and to hold back the fire. The simultaneous movements on both sides lasted no less than 30 minutes over a distance of a few hundred meters. Suddenly, on order, the Dragoons rushed at a trot towards the mountain line. When they were approximately within pistol range, George Murray gave the signal to fire. The discharge of musketry instantly broke up the cavalry regiments, which scattered in disorder. Most of the English cavalry then fell back to their second line [of infantry]. A man shouted, "*Dear brothers! We're all going to be massacred today*[214]!" This had a disastrous effect on the sector. On the other wing, Cobham did no better; he threw himself into the talweg [the ravine] under the bullets of the Highlanders. Many English soldiers and officers of distinction lay in the field, killed or

[213] 1,300 men; in fact, these numbers are rather those of a single regiment.
[214] "Dear brethren, we shall all be massacred this day!" [Robert Chambers, History of the Rebellion of 17456, W.& R. Chambers, Limited. Edinburgh, 1840].

wounded. A few English cavalrymen managed to penetrate the mountain line, but they easily overcame it either by disemboweling their horses with axes, or by dismounting the riders by pulling them by the clothing and finishing off the men on the ground. Generally speaking, the mass of the English cavalry rushed so quickly behind its line of infantry that it damaged the latter. After this first engagement, George Murray tried in vain to get the Macdonald clan, which had received the shock of the English cavalry, to return to his line. The Highlanders, overexcited by their successes, rushed against the English infantry, which had just been manhandled by its own retreating cavalry. At the same time, the English right wing rushed against the Highlanders clans in front of them[215], who also rushed to meet them. The two Highlanders wings also attacked, sword and axe in hand, while the second Highlanders line was emptied of hundreds of impatient people who joined the attack. In fact, only the English regiments that outflanked the mountain forces were not attacked. All the other English regiments, blinded by the rain and storm which struck them head-on, were routed and began to flee in the direction of Falkirk. The actual battle had lasted 10 minutes at most. In the greatest disorder, the Highlanders rushed in pursuit of the fugitives, but as they passed in front of the three untouched English regiments[216], the latter inflicted a terrible volley on them at point-blank range, which disconcerted them and stopped them[217]. They fell back and returned to the line of battle, while the fresh regiments fell back in order towards Falkirk. This volley of musketry saved the English army from destruction.

Casualties ♦*Franco-Scottish* : 32 killed and 120 wounded. ♦English: 280 killed, wounded and missing, 7 guns, 3 mortars, 600

[215] The Mackintoshes, the Macphersons, the Camerons, the Stuarts of Appin...
[216] Intact because they were overflowing the Highlanders' line behind the talweg.
[217] In the blinding rain they thought they had fallen into an ambush.

muskets, a large quantity of hand grenades and two tons of powder, not to mention several [Infantry] flags and [Cavalry] standards.

As a result of this English defeat, the English army retreated from Falkirk towards Linlithgow and Edinburgh. 1,500 of the Prince's men remained in Falkirk that night. The others found lodgings elsewhere. But, before reaching their cantonments, the Scottish Highlanders[218], with the exception of a few units sent to harass and watch the retreating English army, occupied their time in plundering the abandoned English camp and the corpses that lay on the battlefield. Before leaving Edinburgh to follow in the footsteps of the Highlanders, General Hawley had two large multiple gallows erected to warn the Scots of Edinburgh who would feel favorable to the insurgents, and to hang on their return the Highlanders whom he had taken from the army of Prince Stuart, Charles Edward. On his return, discouraged, he hanged several of his men for cowardice[219]. The next day, the Prince's army at Falkirk buried the dead in a mass grave. Both Scots and English were thrown into the same hole, but the latter were recognizable by their total nakedness and the deep wounds inflicted by the broadswords. When the mass of corpses had decomposed, the ground collapsed, and the battlefield

[218] A revealing anecdote illustrates the harshness of relations between clans. A young member of the Clanranald clan had obtained an English musket from his haul. While handling it, a bullet accidentally went off and fatally wounded a young man from the Glengarry clan. The latter died soon after, but, before dying, he asked his clansmen not to demand a vendetta because he knew the other boy was innocent of any crime. Everyone pretended to acquiesce, but asked, as soon as the victim died, for the life of the culprit, according to the rigorous tradition of the law of retaliation in force between the clans. The chief of the Clanranald would have protected his man, but he knew that it would trigger an endless vendetta that would result in many deaths between the two families; and that, moreover, the Glengarry clan would leave the Scottish army and the anti-English coalition. So he accepted. The man was immediately seized and shot, while his poor father came, holding back his tears, finishing him off with a bullet in the head in order to shorten his suffering. Wanting to please the Clanranalds, Prince Charles Edward had the body buried in a beautiful tomb in the city's cemetery. But for this, many Highlanders on both sides, discontented, deserted the Scottish army.

[219] The English general let the bodies of his soldiers hang not until death, but far beyond, until sunset. Such horror had not been perpetrated in the Scottish capital since the distant days when the Duke of York opened the Scottish Parliament in 1681. He had then hanged 5 obstinate ministers who would not bend to the wishes of the Englishman.

remained for a long time marked by a telltale hollow. As for the French who were to make a landing in the south of England, the return of the rebel army to the north from Derby led to the outright cancellation of this manoeuvre, the French believing that Charles Edward had renounced the throne. "By a sad fate, as he clearly mentioned before his death, Major MacDonald was captured after the Battle of Falkirk. He fell into the hands of a patrol of General Hawley, which he mistakenly misidentified for a French patrol of Lord John Drummond. This happened at the end of the day, when the Highlanders had conquered everything before them. By all accounts, they could have completely destroyed the royal army, if the clans had been allowed to act according to their particular customs. The brutal English general Huske ordered MacDonald shot. He refused to receive his sword, but Lord Robert Kerr came forward courteously and accepted it. Major MacDonald later spoke gratefully of Lord Robert's generous civility. Major Donald MacDonald was transferred to Carlisle, where his internment was strict and severe. At his trial, his conduct was respectful and dignified. When all appeal was considered useless, he and all those who shared his sad fatality, submitted with a degree of firmness and detachment that struck the imagination of all. The severity of his internment and the sadness of being torn from his own country (his trial at Carlisle[220], instead of Edinburgh, was moreover illegal) are evoked and manifested in the letters to his wife." The last speech he expected to make on the scaffold before his execution was forbidden by the English authorities[221]..." The 127 Scottish prisoners detained at Carlisle were led, laden with heavy and enormous chains,

[220] A town outside Scotland, in the north-west of England.

[221] This is not surprising; he had planned to declare that his "greatest concern had always been to see our ancient race and its legal sovereign restored" and that he had drawn his sword "only in this laudable cause of restoring the power of the royal family [of Scotland and Catholic] and of recovering the liberties of those unfortunate islands, too long oppressed by usurpation, corruption and bribery... I have always behaved with humanity and charity towards my enemies, the troops of the Elector of Hanover..." It is easy to understand that George, King of England and Elector of Hanover, was not transported with enthusiasm at the prospect of being thus treated *as a corrupt usurper*. Especially since the accusation was perfectly founded.

to the agonizing scaffold, the mere sight of which chilled everyone with terror[222]. They were hanged[223],then, still alive, broken, and finally, for greater safety, quartered. The bodies (or what remained of them) were buried in Carlisle Cemetery. The heads of Major Donald MacDonald and his cousin Kinloch were nailed to the Scotch Gate at Carlisle[224], where they remained, whitened by the sun and weather, for several years[225]. A mocking Scotsman smeared a poem that is now part of the Scottish tradition:

Arise, then, and run, Hawley,
Get up and go on!
The Scots
have arrived
and make faces at you.
The young Charles
in Dunipace
blew your face, Hawley
Sorry show
for a handsome man,
the worst of disgraces!
Ur and rin awa, Hawley,
Up and rin awa, Hawley;
The philabegs are coming down
To gie your lugs a claw, Hawley. Young Charlie's face, at Dunipace,
Has gien your mou' a thraw, Hawley A blasting sight for bastard wight,
The warst that c'er he saw, Hawley.
Up and rin awa, &c.

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[222] But that the crowds were going to see all the same, not out of perverse voyeurism, but because of everything Simply, a bit like today we attend a horror movie or climb a frightening cliff, to feel the dubious pleasure of adrenaline.
[223] Not until death ensues this time, so that they may feel the royal justice for a longer time.
[224] A gate facing Scotland, and which therefore bore that name. This was a terrible warning to all Scots who would venture to be tempted by their natural inclination to contest the annexation of their country by England.
[225] Dom Odo Blundell, The Catholic Highlands of Scotland, Sand & CO, Edinburgh, 1909. Volume 1 The Central Highlands, Lochaber chapter, pages 167 et seq.

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Battle of Fontenoy.

Date of the action: May 11th, 1745.

Location: Village located 7 km south-east of Tournai. 50°34'North, 03°27'Est. [See the toponymic map of Flanders located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend, from 10 to 23 August 1745]

Background: The French had laid siege to Tournai under the protection of a Covering Army; the British Relief Army tried to prevent them.

Commanders in presence ♦*French*: Marshal Maurice de Saxe commanded the French. The King of France, Louis XV, was present at the battle with the Dauphin Louis. ♦*English*: William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland [1721-1765], nicknamed by the Scots "*the Butcher of the Scots*"[226], commanded the English. He had taken command of the allied forces in 1745. He was the son of King George II of England who reigned from 1727 to 1760.

Troops enlisted ♦*English* 60,000 men including 87 cavalry squadrons. Artillery: 80 pieces ♦*French* 45,000 men including 68 cavalry squadrons. 65 artillery pieces[227]. The marshal had, a few days before, left part [nearly 15,000 men] of his army of 60,000 soldiers to besiege Tournai, and had kept 45,000 men as the "Covering

[226] After the massacres of Culloden Moor. Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (15 April 1721 – 31 October 1765) was a member of the British royal family. He was the sixth child and third son of King George II of Great Britain and Margravine Caroline of Brandenburg Ansbach. He was a great British military leader, but he suffered many humiliations at the hands of the French.
[227] The Irish Volunteer Brigade of Lord Thomond, de Clare, and Colonel Dillon, was fighting in the French ranks.

Army" of the siege. It was this *Covering Army*[228] that fought the battle of Fontenoy. It should be noted that 10,000 French soldiers of the Tactical Reserve[229] did not take part in the action, a probable oversight by Marshal de Saxe. This left the entire weight of the battle on the shoulders of only 35,000 men on the French side.

Strategy or Tactics : The battlefield was a vast plain cluttered with swamps and surrounded by forests. This trapezoidal plain 1.8 km by 1 km wide, whose cultivable fields were covered with wheat already high, was dotted with hillsides, like enormous waves; they cut off its monotony. The Scheldt with its calm waters meandered in the bottom of the sector. The right flank of the right wing of the French army rested on the town of Anthouin[230] [reinforced with entrenchments and artillery], on the banks of the River Scheldt, and went up perpendicular to the river to the hamlet of Fontenoy, 1,600 meters further to the north-east, following a sunken path. Three redoubts, erected as outposts on this right wing, crossed their fire [which included, of course, artillery] with those of the troops posted in the village of Fontenoy. To the east of the Scheldt, on an elevation, a French battery of six 16-pounder guns was responsible for strafing the Dutch troops who would attack Anthouin from the flank. The French Centre went northwest from Fontenoy, at right angles to the right wing and parallel to the Scheldt River. This Centre extended over about 1,000 meters, as far as the southern horn of the Bois de Barry. The French troops therefore formed a sort of gallows, the corner of which was located in the village of Fontenoy, which was also protected by a vast ditch invisible from a distance. The French marshal arranged the greater part of the French troops along the small arm of this gallows: two lines of cavalry supported the two lines of French infantry. A strong reserve was kept in case of need [1/5 of the troops]. All the paths were barricaded by

[228] Or Observation, as it was called at the time.
[229] 1/5 of the total French troops.
[230] Antoing.

barricades of gnarled trees, and the bell tower served as an observation tower. A boat pontoon and a fortified bridgehead had been established near Calonne, northwest of Anthouin, to allow a retreat in the event of defeat. The French Centre was supported by the Bois de Barry, reinforced by 2 redoubts and 4 abatis[231]. To guard the north face of the battlefield [i.e., the west of Barry Wood], a strong Tactical Reserve of cavalry and infantry had been stationed in this sector [nearly 10,000 men]. In April, the French army carried out a diversionary manoeuvre north-east towards Mons to mislead the Duke of Cumberland, and then threw itself on the fortress of Tournai to begin the siege by surprise in order to prevent the Allies from reinforcing the garrison. The marshal left 27 French battalions and 17 squadrons, i.e. 11,000 infantry and 2040 cavalry, to occupy the circumvallation lines that blocked Tournai, then he went to take a defensive position 7 km southeast of this city to cover the siege. The King of France, Louis XV, standing on a hill with his son the Dauphin Louis, instilled by his mere presence more determination in the French troops and in the command, for a defeat might have put the king's life in danger. The battle of Fontenoy reversed the usual roles of the two antagonists. According to the usual pattern of Franco-English battles, the English limited themselves to an almost entirely defensive and static role; solidly entrenched, they resisted the French who were attacking their positions. At Fontenoy, it was the opposite. This time the English adopted an offensive role and the French right wing a purely defensive role. The Centre and the Left of the French were not, however, entrenched[232].

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[231] Cut trees with sharpened branches.

[232] In his *De la Guerre*, Carl von Clausewitz gives a brief description of a defensive battle as he conceives it, and his diagram bears an uncanny resemblance to the battle of Fontenoy: "The defender awaits the attack on his position; for this purpose he has chosen and laid out a suitable ground, that is to say, he has become well acquainted with the place, he has built solid entrenchments at some of the most important points, opened and cleared lines of communication, posted batteries, fortified the villages, and chosen suitable sites to keep his masses under cover, etc. While the antagonistic forces

During this battle, Cumberland used the tactic of "deep order" as opposed to "thin order[233]." The French, on their part, did not exploit this victory, on the field of battle itself, by pursuing the English and destroying them. Some historians have claimed that the initial courtesies of the "*Gentlemen of the French, shoot first.. . .* were not a politeness, despite appearances. The army that fired first was disarmed before it could reload. But, in spite of everything [these historians think], the moral effect could be fatal on the troops forced to let themselves be shot at point-blank range, standing up and without moving! The French infantrymen were 4 lines deep, in fairly spaced ranks, and were not supported by any other troops stationed nearby.

Despite what some historians think, the War of the Austrian Succession was already the time of the "*rolling fires*". The army

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are mutually consuming at the points where they come into contact, a more or less strong front, the approach of which is made difficult by one or more parallel trenches and other obstacles, or by the presence of a few strong dominant points, enables him to destroy a large number of enemies with a small part of his forces. at the different stages of the defense, up to the heart of the position. The support points which it has provided for its wings protect it against a sudden attack from several directions; the covered ground which he had chosen for his position encouraged the enemy to be cautious [which was not the case with the Duke of Cumberland], and even to timidity, and gave the defence the means of diminishing by partial and concentrated attacks the general movement of retreat which began as soon as the engagement was gradually concentrated within narrower limits. The defender then looked with satisfaction at the battle which was being fought with moderate violence on his front [the French, who had most of their front devoid of a point of support or entrenchments, did not enjoy such satisfaction in the face of the gravity of the English attack, to the point that the Court had made arrangements to flee as quickly as possible in case of need] ... His position was established in depth, as every part of the graduated scale of the order of battle, from division to battalion, to a reserve for unforeseeable events and a resumption of engagement. At the same time, it retains a large mass, a quarter to a third of the whole, in the rear, far from the battle, far enough away so that there can be no question of losses due to enemy fire, and if possible far enough away so as not to risk being surrounded by the enemy if he tried to turn one of the wings. With this body, it covers its flanks with wider and deeper rotating movements, and protects itself against any surprise. During the last third of the battle, when the plan of the assailant is fully developed and he has exhausted most of his troops, the defender throws this mass upon a part of the enemy's army and pronounces against it his own smaller offensive, using all the resources of the attack, such as charges, surprises, turning movements, and thanks to this pressure against the centre of gravity of the battle, which is still in the balance, he forces a general retreat." [Confer Book VI, *Defence*; Chapter IX, *The Defensive Battle*]. This is the event [in Napoleonic tactics].

[233] The Assault Line.

that fired was never disarmed thanks to the rolling fire "by platoon", that is to say, in this specific case, by rows[234]. To let the enemy army fire first therefore became a very capital tactical error. But the king and the court of France were present; although a little far away to admire, live, the courtly scene, they did not fail to have it told to each other many times at a later date; and each participant had his moment of glory and his reward. Marshal Foch advocated what he called the Battle-manoeuvre[235], which he opposed to the Parallel Battle. Cumberland's tactics at Fontenoy seem to coincide with those of the future generalissimo of the Great War: in fact, there is frontal combat [the Dutch and the English units who immobilized, paralyzed and absorbed the activity of the French line], and decisive attack [the giant column]. This tactic failed at Fontenoy, probably mainly because of the slowness of the assault column; for Foch the decisive attack should be a "deliberate, resolute and sudden action of the masses acting by surprise." The battle of Fontenoy was also an exception in the usual tactics of the English army when facing the French army: usually the English remained on the defensive and entrenched themselves while the French played the offensive role [as at Waterloo]. Fontenoy was an exception. Both armies played an offensive role.

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[234] It was in 1594, a century and a half before Fontenoy, that Louis of Nassau suggested, in a letter to his cousin Maurice, the idea of the "European countermarch". Ten ranks of pivoting musketeers were capable, in the manner of the Roman javelin throwers [in Aelian], of reproducing continuous volleys of projectiles. The Greek Asclepiodotus, in his Chapter XII Orders and Movement, of his Treatise on Tactics [written in the first century B.C.], describes these maneuvers in detail: "If we want the formations to make a quarter turn on the spear side, we will order *the lochage* [fighting group] that is placed on the right to stand at rest and each of the other *lochage*s to pivot on the spear side, to advance to the right, and then face again; then we make the rear ranks advance and once the men are in compact order, we make them make a quarter turn on the lance side, and thus the whole will have made a quarter turn." Another conversion, on the shield side, allowed the troops to be brought back to their initial position. Quoted by Olivier Battistini in La Guerre. see in fine

[235] "*Des Principes de la Guerre*", Marshal Ferdinand Foch, Lectures given in 1900 at the École Supérieure de Guerre, and published by Éditions Berger Levrault, Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg in 1903. pp. 265 et seq.

Summary of the action: All the actors were in place. All that was missing were the three strokes to begin the tragedy[236]. The French Maréchal de Saxe, who was ill, was crisscrossing the battlefield in a wicker carriage, in order to verify everything. The troops, involuntary actors, were waiting: Gendarmes de Soubise, Light Cavalry de Chaulnes, Hussars de Linden, Garde Française de Gramont, Infantry de Biron and Dragons de Chevreuse. The *three shots* were given by a French outpost. Around 5:00 a.m., a reddish glow pierced the mist; A French outpost had just burned some houses. At the same moment, as if this had been the signal for battle, the English artillery opened fire, and for nearly an hour the allied cannonballs made long holes in the *ranks and files* of the French Guards, who, unperturbed by the iron deluge, continually closed ranks to fill the gaps. "*Serrez les rangs!*" officers shouted[237]. The preparation of the opening artillery being considered satisfactory, the Duke of Cumberland also wished to play his part before the Court of France. He placed himself at the head of the English regiments and rushed forward with saber drawn. The red mass of the English, bristling with thousands of sabers, bayonets and flags, rushed screaming at the hamlet of Fontenoy, defended by the Brigade du Dauphin, which was the last to be able to give way to the English, while the court of France had its eyes riveted on it. Although much inferior in number, this brigade was posted in outer entrenchments and in the houses of the hamlet. It rained a cloud of lead on the English infantry. French artillery pieces, hidden in the

[236] On a hill, the lace-clad spectators, King Louis XV and the court of France, waited with a shiver down their spine at the idea of witnessing this holocaust, a true horror film by one of the greatest masters of horror of the time: the King of France. For, in fact, the battle was accepted and fought by the Maréchal de Saxe only to serve as a didactic example for the military training of the child dauphin. The reign of Louis XV was marked by incessant wars that eventually led to the French Revolution and the overthrow of this bloodthirsty dynasty. The presence of the Court also led to unnecessary deaths by the additional relentlessness and above all by the bloody courtesy that opened the pitched battle: "*Gentlemen of England, shoot first!"* Contrary to what some historians claim, this absurd courtesy was an exception and not the rule.

[237] "Serrez les rangs!... or Fermez les rangs!... Close Ranks! '' This was the classic order officers gave when a line had to tighten its files, either to fill the gaps caused by casualties or simply to maintain cohesion in the formation.

bushes, suddenly unmasked themselves and went into uninterrupted shelling against these menacing masses that arrived like unreal phantoms, in the midst of the clouds of yellowish smoke of the artillery, soiling the bright colors of the landscape. The English soldiers screamed, as soldiers usually do when they mount an assault, not only to terrorize the enemy, but also to expel from their lungs that fear which so oppresses those who are about to die[238]. Suddenly the screams changed in intensity. The first English ranks had just seen the deep ditch that surrounded Fontenoy. They tried to stop, but the momentum of the others threw them into the long "*mass grave*" which was soon completely filled with the dead and the screaming wounded. A vision of horror. Fortunately, after having set an example by launching the assault at the head of his troops, the Duke of Cumberland had taken the wise precaution of allowing himself to be overtaken by his soldiers, as they approached the French positions, in order to return to his hill of observation. As the living walked on the dead and wounded, the assault continued but broke against the hamlet of Fontenoy, which shot them at point-blank range. The first English wave retreated in disorder. The Duke of Cumberland, obstinate, launched a second wave, then, stung by his self-esteem, a third, all of which came aground against the hamlet, the key position of the battle, and retreated in disorder after leaving a long red trail of corpses and wounded on the field. Then Cumberland ordered the assault to be interrupted. Seeing the failure of his three attacks, Cumberland launched the Dutch army against the French right wing[239]. It was then that the artillery battery which the French had placed beyond the Scheldt came into action, and began *to enfilade*, in flank, the Dutch ranks which were mounting to the assault. It was a terrible carnage. The squadrons of Cavalry and Infantry battalions melted like snow as they

[238] The Greek philosopher Onasander advised: "to take the army to fight with a battle cry, and sometimes by running, for its appearance, its clamour and the clash of arms upset the minds of the enemies." [Principle XXIX].
[239] Bourg d'Anthouin and the area between this town and Fontenoy.

approached the murderous fire of the French line. A Dutch squadron had only 15 survivors in a few seconds of assault. This caused an understandable panic. The Dutch High Command then momentarily halted the attack on the French right wing.

During the Dutch attack, Cumberland changed tactics. He decided to temporarily abandon the *secondary attacks* on the key positions [the hamlet of Fontenoy] or on the *diversionary points* [the French right wing] in order to concentrate his efforts on the *French Center, i.e.* the sector between the horn of the Bois de Barry and the hamlet of Fontenoy. This effort was to be decisive. But first, it was necessary to neutralize the redoubt, and the French troops entrenched on *the edge of the Bois de Barry*, which were crossing their fire with those of Fontenoy. In the absence of the key position of Fontenoy, if at least the lock of resistance of the Bois de Barry could be broken, nothing could have stopped the English. Cumberland immediately sent four large battalions of Infantry of 1,000 men each commanded by his aide-de-camp Ingoldsby to dislodge them. The latter launched himself on the Bois de Barry but was very harshly received and his formations dislocated by *the grassins*[240]. Convinced that the wood was occupied in force, Ingoldsby called for artillery from Cumberland. So the English General-in-Chief, who wanted to try the impossible to inflict a stinging lesson in military art on the Dauphin of France, decided to change tactics again and to try a "*breakthrough attack*" in the rather narrow sector of 800 meters located between Fontenoy and the horn of the Bois de Barry. He massed in front of this undulating area exposed to artillery fire[241] an immense column of 14,000 men [with

[240] *Grassins*: light troops on foot and on horseback, an amalgam of infantry and dragoons, named after their creator. The *Arquebusiers de Grassin* were a French corps of troops created by the Royal (French) Ordinance of 1 January 1744. It was raised by Simon Claude Grassin de Gratigny, who commanded it until May 1748. The use of light irregular troops harassing French regular troops, especially by Hungary during this war, led to the idea of raising troops capable of opposing the houzards (hussards or hussars). Today, we would call them "commandos" or “troupes spéciales”..
[241] But without any fortification or entrenchment

artillery], which would serve as a battering ram to break through the French lines and which the counterattacks of Infantry or Cavalry would be powerless to begin seriously. Soon the immense column began to march. Cannons were dragged with a lot of ropes. Six pieces preceded the English Infantry and 6 others, placed in the middle of their lines, advanced with them. The English marched slowly[242] by 3 close lines of 4 men (thick) each; in all, 12 men deep. The two wings of this mass folded back to the north, like a U-shaped whose opening would be towards the rear. Immediately, the French artillery, from Fontenoy and the edge of Barry, began to strafing, digging large gaps in the lines that the English officers ordered to be filled by incessantly repeated cries of: "*Close ranks! Serrez les Rangs!*[243]" It was 10:30 a.m. In five hours and thirty minutes of battle, the English had advanced only 2 kilometers. In front of this giant column of 14,000 men that was advancing slowly, a thin line of 4 battalions of French Guards formed the center of the line of resistance. The "*Swedish Style*" 4 guns[244] had a lot to suffer from the fire of the English field artillery. Also, Commander de Brocard had a battery of long-range guns installed on the edge of Fontenoy, which flanked and therefore enfiladed the English lines and caused them enormous and bloody losses. But Cumberland did not stop the advance of his mass attack, which was advancing slowly and beginning to reach the top of a ridge at the bottom of which, lined up in a sunken path, awaited the first rank of the French Guards[245]. The 6 "Swedish Style" guns that preceded the English mass were somewhat detached from this mass in order to allow the gunners to stop intermittently, point and fire before

[242] One step away from the second.
[243] Since the allied army was multinational, orders could be given in French, the international language of the time, just as they are today in English. English, German, Dutch, Russian, or Austrian officers were required to speak French.
[244] Placed in front of the Infantry Line.
[245] It should be noted that the French line was below the attackers. This position, comparable to that of the French Métis at Batoche and Anse-aux-Poissons (Fish-Creek), had not been chosen for tactical purposes but rather to keep the alignment with respect to the two extremes.

being joined by the Infantry lines which were advancing at a pace per second. Seeing the 6 isolated guns at the top of the ridge, undisciplined officers of the French Guards launched a few units to try to seize them[246]. These units ran up the slope to find themselves face to face with the entire British army, the front line of which immediately began to spew a deadly cloud of shrapnel. About sixty French Guards fell; the rest hurried back to their lines below and waited. The Guards did not yet see the English, but they could hear the pounding of thousands of shoehorns on the hard ground. They listened with apprehension to this human tide rising, while pressing the butt of their rifle in the bleed of their shoulders, pointing it at the ridge line where the enemy who was about to appear at the summit was about to appear. Soon the horizon line revealed a long line of gleaming bayonets, sabers, then hats that were rapidly elongating, then the screaming and grimacing faces of the Scottish Highlanders who, as usual, had been placed in the front line, at the head of the English column, with Campbell as lieutenant-general, the Duke of Albermale[247] as major-general, and Churchill[248] as a brigadier. The first enemy soldiers suddenly noticed each other. The cries of the British ceased as the English lines passed the crest of the hillside and saw the French. The final moment of death had arrived for thousands of men. A great silence succeeded the clamor, and soon the immense English mass was ordered to mark time in front of the enemy's line[249]. Then officers of the two armies came forward and lifted their hats to salute each other. Lord Charles Hay, captain of the English Guards, broke through the ranks of the Scottish Highlanders and approached the French ranks to meet the

[246] The French Guards were, at this precise period, reputed to be undisciplined and unsubordinated, whereas a few decades earlier, these same units were an elite weapon.
[247] General Keppel.
[248] Illegitimate grandson of the Duke of Marlborough from whom Sir Winston was descended.
[249] A "mark time drill" is a military marching maneuver where soldiers march in place, raising each foot alternately without moving forward. It's a way to maintain cadence and alignment while halted or waiting for the next command.

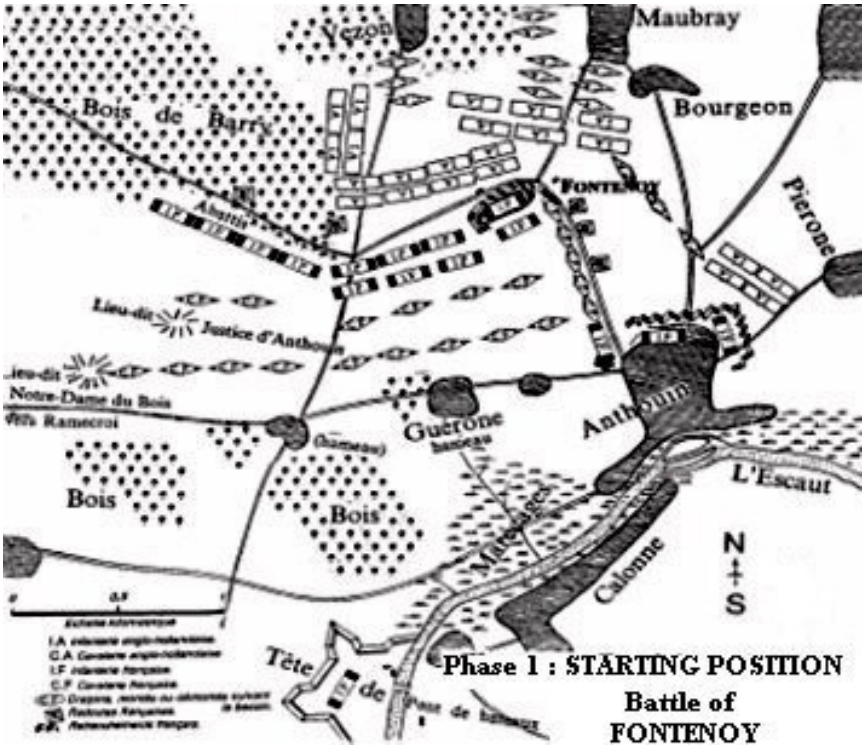
Vicomte d'Anterroches[250],"***French Gentlemen, fire first***," shouted Hay in French, after bowing politely. ***"No, sir, we will never fire first***," replied the Vicomte d'Anterroches. At this moment the officers fell back into their line, and Captain Hay, slowly, as if on a field of manoeuvre, gave the order to fire: ***FIRE!*** The English, drawn up in 12 lines, fired in rows, so as to give the other rows time to reload. The deafening salvo of the English began to roll interminably and laid down on the ground more than 1,000 French soldiers[251]. The moral effect was enormous on this rather undisciplined unit, all the more so as the English fire was "rolling", that is to say *uninterrupted*, rank after rank; one reloading while the other fired. The first French line was almost entirely precipitated to the ground. The survivors of the second, third and fourth lines, seeing only squadrons of Cavalry stationed 600 meters far behind them, did not feel supported and began to give up. Even more since their general, the Duke of Grammont[252], had just been killed. Only the officers and survivors of the front line who did not have an overview of the massacre resisted. In the face of this rout, the English mass, still in a U-shape open to the rear, slowly resumed its march [one step per second], like a steamroller, but continuing the rolling fire of musketry and artillery in all directions[253]. Soon, the front of the deadly U passed the old front line*, i.e.* the line between Fontenoy and the redoubt of the Bois-de-Barry. Little by little, the configuration of the field made the two wings of the U tighten and become a real column, an enormous ***rectangle full***, from which a cloud of bullets and cannonballs emanated. The battalions of

[250] De Chabanne, according to other historians.
[251] According to some modern researchers, the firing laid down 411 Frenchmen on the ground [98 killed and 313 wounded], i.e. 1/8 of the 3300 French Guards. This seems very low, given the circumstances.
[252] The same one who had caused the capture of the King of England by the French to fail during the battle of Dettingen. Some claimed that he had himself killed voluntarily at Fontenoy to wash himself of the ridicule of the "*Day of the Broken Sticks*" of Dettingen [the rumour had spread that he had carried out his premature attack in order to defeat the English with his own body of troops, to obtain *the marshal's baton.*
[253] Except towards the rear, of course.

Gardes Françaises being pushed back, the Régiment d'Aubeterre tried to intervene in front of this mass of men, but crushed by the numbers, found itself swept away in its turn. Biron[254] attempted a flank attack with the *Régiment du Roi*. In front of him, a battalion of the English Guards detached itself from the mass like a tentacle, advanced several steps, made a murderous discharge and retreated to the body of this apocalyptic beast that nothing seemed to be able to stop. The Marshal of France then decided to try to chip the English column by the blows of incessant Cavalry charges; even if, since the great battles of the Middle Ages, it was commonly accepted that the Cavalry was powerless to break into a compact mass of Infantry. The Comte d'Estrées led the first charge. It came to break hopelessly against the human wall of the column which, like the *Lernaean Hydra*, was constantly reconstituting itself and filling in the holes and wounds of the front ranks. Four squadrons of French Gendarmes charged without any more success, only succeeding in being decimated or even exterminated. Infantry regiments also rushed, on their own initiative, against the giant column. The Regiment des Vaisseaux attacked the British right flank. Then it was the Regiment du Hainaut that assaulted it from the front, followed by the Regiment de Normandie, while the Régiment Royal Irlandais[255] rushed on its right flank. But the British masses faced on all sides, firing continual and murderous volleys, division after division, and merciless volleys, battery after battery, at the French regiments that assailed them. And the giant column was still advancing… irresistibly like a nightmare. To the point that it now penetrated the former French front line to a depth of about 200 meters. Meanwhile, the French entrenchments at Fontenoy were furiously resisting the attackers, but in this sector the situation was becoming critical because the French lacked artillery balls. In order to conceal from the Anglo-Dutch this deficiency, who would have

[254] The duke Louis Antoine de Gontaut-Biron, maréchal de France (1701- 1788).
[255] In the service of France.

immediately intensified their attack, the French guns *began to fire blanks* (without projectiles). The artillerymen were preparing to evacuate their guns before the English, who were beginning to think themselves invulnerable and were getting closer and closer, when the boxes of cannonballs finally arrived, to the great relief of



the French. The battle seemed to be taking a dangerous turn for the French, who saw themselves unable to seriously damage this red mass of 14,000 men which was still advancing, slowly, trampling its own dead and wounded with small steps. The Marshal of France therefore decided to make a last-ditch attempt by launching a general offensive. But first, he had King Louis XV and the Dauphin of France withdraw towards Notre-Dame-aux-Bois. Then he sent the

Comte de La Marck, who commanded the French right wing opposed to the Dutch Army, the order to abandon the town of Anthouin in order to join the bridge of Calonne further north. The Dutch, who were besieging the curtain wall of Anthouin-Fontenoy, remained calm after having been crushed a few hours earlier, and Maurice de Saxe wanted to recover these French troops who were now almost "useless". As La Marck turned a deaf ear, the Maréchal de Saxe repeated his evacuation order three times. Finally, with death in their souls, the French evacuated the fortified line. As for Cumberland, he decided to make a second and final attempt to break the lock of Fontenoy. He sent two additional battalions to this sector and attacked the French positions from the rear.

While the Duke of Cumberland was busy renewing the local attacks, the British Infantry Battle Corps, in a massive formation[256], continued its slow and irresistible march, straight ahead, and without a clear objective, more and more isolated within the French lines and subjected to continual cavalry attacks which made it suffer heavy sacrifices. Constantly, the inner ranks filled the gaps dug on the edge by the charges of French cavalry. This left behind the dense column a thick red trail of blood and uniforms. Everywhere the dead and dying were mercilessly trampled by the boots of the infantrymen and the hooves of the horses. King Louis XV, advised by the Duc de Richelieu, then ordered a battery of 4 artillery pieces to be placed in front of the giant column and harassed with anti-personnel cartridge shots[257]. While strafing it at point-blank range and filling the red mass with shrapnel that dug bloody holes, Louis XV ordered a general charge to be launched against the English with all available units. The Maréchal de Saxe could only confirm the manoeuvre when he learned that the King himself

[256] A true apocalyptic beast.
[257] Bunches, as they used to say at the time.

had given the order[258]. The French regiment evacuating Anthouin received orders from the King[259] to reoccupy its positions in order to prevent the Dutch from intervening from the rear, while the final assault on the large mass column took place. A crowd of liaison officers immediately joined all the units, except the Reserve, to give the order for a general attack: "No more isolated moves, but synchronized attack with all available forces." As a result, many units of Tactical Reserve[260] were not ordered to attack the British column, an oversight on the Maréchal de Saxe's part, due to the confusion on the battlefield. As soon as the battery of 4 anti-personnel guns had begun to shake the nerves of the British column, the general and synchronized assault was launched all around the battalions of Redcoats. At that point, realizing that they had to launch a diversionary attack to relieve the English, the Dutch threw themselves headlong on Anthouin[261], but a Reserve brigade [that of Crillon] immediately counterattacked and the Dutch were driven back to their starting bases, leaving 1,400 killed and wounded on the field in a few minutes. In fact, this diversionary attack had no positive effect in relieving the English [and Germans] of the general assault. Strongly shaken by the anti-personnel fragmentation fire, the immense column, eroded by the projectiles, was immediately assailed by a general charge of French Infantry and Cavalry, especially by the *Maison du Roi* (King's Household), the Gendarmes, the Brigade Irlandaise and the Chevau-légers, who were to complete the rupture of this monolithic human block. The melee became so impetuous and confused that Montmorency's Carabiniers, confusing the Irish with the English on account of certain

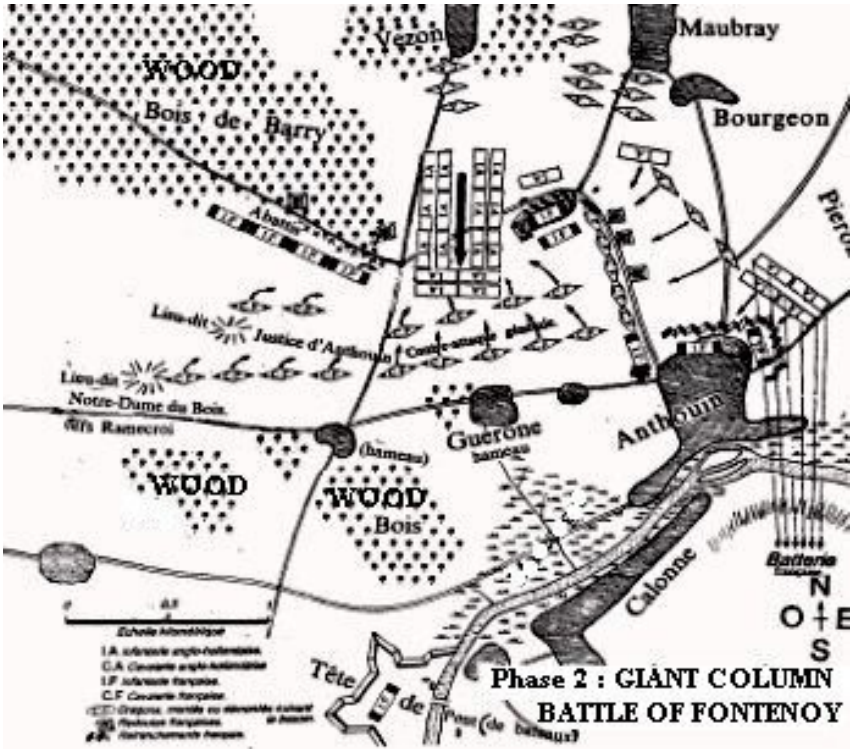
[258] Ironically, while it was the Marshal of Saxony who was supposed to make a tactical demonstration in front of the young Dauphin of France, it was undoubtedly the Duke of Richelieu who won the battle.
[259] That is to say, of the Duke of Richelieu.
[260] Totalling about 10,000 men, who, in the end, were not engaged at all during the battle.
[261] This shows the extent to which the Duke of Richelieu took a good initiative in reoccupying the entrenchments facing the Dutch. Otherwise, the flank attack of the latter might have led to the defeat of the French.

resemblances in uniform, fell upon them with fury. It was only to the cries of: "*Vive la France! Long live France!*", desperately pushed by the Irish, that the French realized their tragic mistake and stopped the massacre. By bunches, by battalions, and by companies, the English square began to flake, to split, to fragment, to disintegrate; and Cumberland gave orders to sound the retreat. The square therefore came to a halt and soon moved but backwards. It began to retreat at a fairly rapid pace[262] without too much panic, knowing that the disorder would provoke a general massacre. However, enormous gaps were opening up in the great English massess! The French horsemen rushed into it, massacring mercilessly. Here, again, the Maréchal de Saxe did not call in the Reserve, in order to pursue the retreating enemy, with the aim of destroying him completely. He only followed him by a few elements of Cavalry, Carabiniers, and by the Régiment du Roy, who did not pursue beyond the edge of the Bois de Barry. It was 4:30 p.m.; the battle was over. The resistance of the great English square had lasted six interminable and bloody hours.

Casualties ♦The English lost about 10,000 men, the Dutch 3,000. The next day, the Comte d'Estrées left with a detachment for Leuze where he took 3 or 4,000 additional prisoners. 2,000 English and Hanoverians, wounded, were found by the French in the paths, barns, villages and hamlets of the region. 44 pieces of Allied artillery were abandoned in the flight, as well as 122 ammunition wagons, crews and all baggage. The pro-French *Brigade Irlandaise* themselves took an English flag. To their delight! The spectacle of the battlefield had become a nightmare. The route followed by the English column was covered with a thick layer of corpses, dying soldiers, and abandoned wounded whom the King of France

[262] Two steps away at a second

ordered to be treated. ♦The French lost about 3,000 killed and 4,600 wounded.



Consequence of this English defeat: This defeat led to the loss for the Anglo-Allies of the greater part of the Austrian Netherlands, (i.e. Belgium today). However, there was no real pursuit on the part of the French, and therefore no direct exploitation of the enemy's defeat. This lack of chase was no doubt due to the confusion that reigned on the battlefield. The French took advantage of the weakening of the Anglo-allies in Europe to take Brussels by surprise on January 1st, 1746. This defeat also led to the loss by the Allies of Tournai, Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, Dendermonde, Ostend, Nieuwpoort and then Ath. But the Religious Wars [Jacobite Wars]

continued in Britain. In July, Charles Edward landed alone in that country, raised the Highlands, and forced the government in London to recall the Duke of Cumberland to the island of Great Britain. The latter, beaten first at *Preston Pans* and *Falkirk*, did not defeat the pretender to the English crown until the *Battle of Culloden Moor* [near Inverness] the following spring. On October 11, 1745, a French ship landed in the port of Montrose [Scotland] Irish officers, money, arms and a secret agent of the King of France. Under the pretext of this threat, King George of England abandoned Flanders and his defeated army at Fontenoy, and returned to London.

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Attack on Fort Lawrence.

Date of the action: March 1751.

Location: Isthmus of Chignecto, Acadia. Today it is the border area between the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Geographical coordinates: 45° 53' north latitude, and 64° 11' west longitude.

Conflict: France and England were officially at peace.

Background: At the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, the Treaty of Utrecht had, for reasons of political bribe, assigned [French] Acadia to England. A guerrilla movement arose in this region, and more particularly in the border sector of the Isthmus of Chignecto. In September 1750, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Lawrence and several hundred soldiers from Minas landed at Beaubassin, near the mouth of the Sainte-Marguerite River. They established a fort [Fort Lawrence] on the site of the French [Acadian] village of Beaubassin, on a low-lying escarpment that extended northward, parallel to that of Beauséjour. Before the winter the fort was well advanced. It took the name of the man who built it and who first commanded it. Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Monckton arrived to take command.

Strategy or Tactics : The artillery could be directed only toward the north of French territory, which made it obvious that attacks were expected only from this direction. Fort Lawrence was intended to guard the Franco-English border. The fort was a star-shaped quadrilateral with four corner bastions joined by curtain palisades of large, pointed logs, and surrounded by a deep ditch.

The earth taken from the ditch formed a bench against the palisade as far as the ditch, while on the outer side of the ditch it sloped in a glacis. The northern bastions were equipped with artillery or cavalry platforms. Similar platforms were built at each end of the curtain wall which joined them[263]. The fort contained two storehouses. On the north-west and south-east bastions stood elevateded casemates that served as guard posts or watchtowers. Within the enclosure were also planned a residential house for the commanding officer, an officers' mess, a guardroom, troop quarters, and a general storehouse. The overall distance between the corners of the two north and south bastions was about 60 meters on each side, and between the corners of the north and south bastions 90 meters. The palisades themselves were roughly 36 meters long.

Summary of the action : During the winter, Saint-Ours ordered La Jonquière to build a fort at Pointe Beauséjour and another at the Gaspereau River in order to guard the French border facing Fort Lawrence. The Acadians immediately went to cut the necessary wood, but having families to feed, they demanded to be paid and to be assisted by French soldiers and by the Canadians who had come to reinforce them. In fact, Monsieur de Montesson, a Canadian officer, had arrived from Canada with 100 Canadians and 100 Indians. The Canadians were stationed at La-Butte-à-Roger and Pointe Gaspereau and the Indians at Le Lac. The Acadian troops at the outposts of Pointe-Beauséjour and Pont-à-Buot were thus replaced by Canadians and, as a result, freed from their military obligations. After the arrival of Canadian Indians, a force of 350 men[264], accompanied by a missionary, was sent to Fort Lawrence. Their mission was to try to provoke the English in order to induce them to make a sortie from this fort. They therefore killed two Englishmen near the gate of the fort and fired shots into the windows

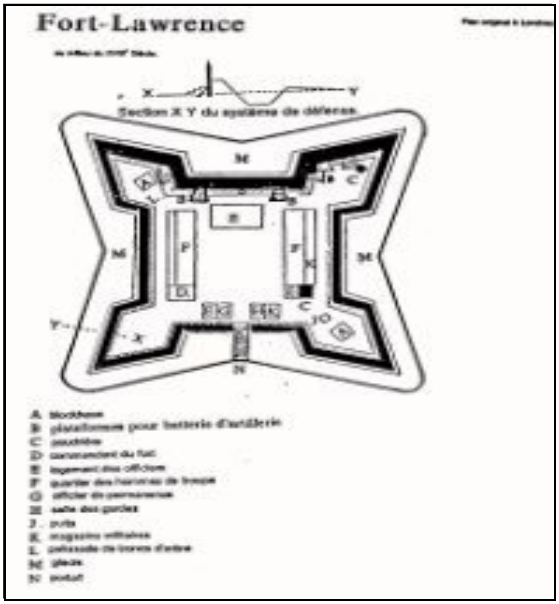
[263] The walls facing these horsemen had, of course, been pierced with embrasures. Although some of the horsemen were high enough to allow them to fire over the palisade.
[264] Composed of Mi'kmaq, Amalekite, Canibas Indians from Canada, and Acadians.

of the commandant, who was obliged to close his shutters. No one left the fort for 48 hours, the time of the attack, while the combined forces were under arms at Pont-à-Buot in order to support the Franco-Indians in case the English made a “sortie” intended to pursue them on French territory. In fact, the English remained constantly in the fort.

Casualties ♦*French* none. ♦*English*: 2 killed; a few injured.

As a result of this English defeat, the English became besieged.

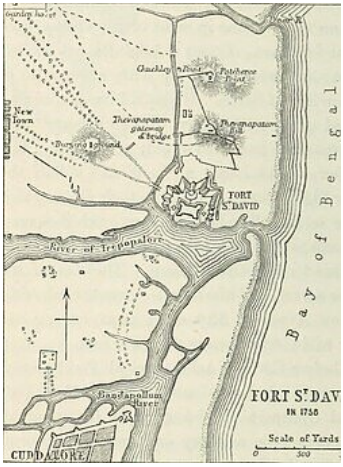
SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦"***France Septentrionale***", décembre 1693, Archives des Colonies. "***Correspondance générale, Canada***". Paris, AC,C 11A,12:396V ♦Bona ARSENAULT, ***Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens***, 6 vol. Tome 1 : ***Histoire des Acadiens,*** tome 2 : ***Port Royal,*** tome 3 : ***Beaubassin,*** Lemeac, Montréal, 1978. ♦Antoine Bernard, L'Acadie vivante; histoire du peuple acadien de ses origines à nos jours, Édition du Devoir, Montréal, 1945. ♦George Frederick Clarke, ***Expulsion of the Acadians***, Brunswick Press, Fredericton, N. B 1965.



Siege of Fort St. David.

Date of the action: 13-14 March 1747.

Location: Coromandel Coast, Carnatic, India. The fortress was located about 20 km south of Pondicherry and 3 km north of Gondelour [Cuddalore]. The fort was built in the valley where the Panar flowed, very close to this river. Geographical coordinates: 11° 47' north latitude, and 79° 45' east longitude. The English had bought this site in 1691 and had fortified it little by little in order to limit the extension of French territory to the south[265]. The name **Saint David** refers to the patron saint of Wales — the fort was named *Fort St. David* after him, because the governor of Madras at the time (Elihu Yale) was Welsh (britannica.com).



Background: After the French captured Madras, the capital of British India, Fort St. David remained the only British possession on the Coromandel Coast. But the Nabob Anaverdikan, who could not obtain the surrender of the city of Madras, which the French had solemnly ceded to him[266], set out with an army of 10,000 men to lay siege to Madras and retake that city from the French.

[265] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.
[266] For they suspected that this potentate was planning to sell it secretly back to the English.

English ships were at anchor in the Hougly. Finally, d'Esprémenil, the French governor of Madras, made a *sortie* with 400 elite French soldiers and 2 artillery pieces to counterattack the besieging army. The cannoneers did so well that they succeeded in putting the Nabob's numerous cavalries to flight. The Nabob then went to the vicinity of Saint-Thomé, on the right bank of the Adyar, in order to intercept a small troop commanded by an officer of the Engineers named Paradis, who, coming from Pondicherry with 230 Frenchmen and 700 Sepoys, was to join and reinforce d'Esprémenil.

Ruin of Fort St.David today. Priv.Coll.

The nabob intended to ambush him, but Dupleix's spies warned him of this, and it was finally a battle in which the nabob's 10,000 men were again routed with bayonets by a handful of French soldiers. The nabob 's soldiers fled but their retreat was cut off by the French garrison of Madras who carried out a real massacre. The news of this incredible victory had an immense resonance on the other Indian potentates. Most of them turned to the French. Dupleix then decided that he had *carte blanche* to attack the English in their refuge at Fort St. David. In those times, when battles were fought hand-to-hand, Europeans enjoyed (rightly or wrongly) such prestige on other continents that they could win complete victories over armies ten times their size, for the goddess Victory is fond of being seduced by the proud illusion of racial superiority. Hitler’s Nazi armies used not only racial discrimination to convince themselves that they were the best, but also methamphetamine (which was distributed daily to every German soldier in the form of chocolate) to give them the illusion of being very brave and tireless.

Chiefs in Command ♦Dupleix would have preferred to give the command of the expedition to the young and audacious Paradis, he was obliged to leave it to Monsieur de Bury, who was too old but superior in rank.

Troops engaged ♦*French* expedition against the fort consisted of 900 Europeans, 600 Sepoys, 100 African Kaffirs[267], with 6 cannons and 6 mortars. ♦The *English* garrison consisted of 420 Europeans and 1,000 Indians.

Strategy or Tactics : Before attacking Fort St. David, the last English possession on the Coromandel coast, Dupleix issued a proclamation declaring Madras a French possession by right of conquest and repudiating "null and void" La Bourdonnais' commitments. Whatever the legend invented by the latter may say, Dupleix showed the greatest respect for the English prisoners of Madras[268]. And those of the latter who fled to take refuge in St. David did so out of patriotism. The garrison of this fort was therefore one of the most morally sound, the most intrepid. Dupleix was determined to take the fort before the arrival of English or Dutch reinforcements.

Summary of the action : Dupleix then resumed his plans against Fort St. David. But this time he gave the command to Paradis. On March 14, 1747, the French were reinstalled in the walled garden that served as a fort to blockade Fort St. David. But English

[267] The Kaffirs, now called Bantus, were of course of African origin.

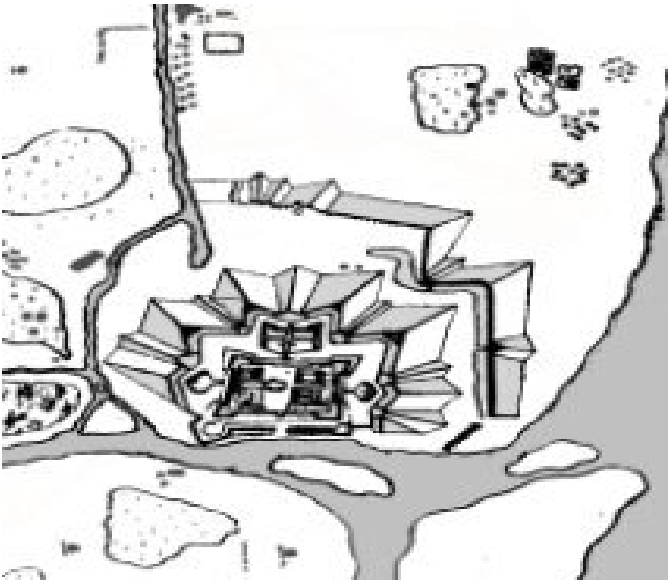
[268] Dupleix was destroyed in Paris by at least three campaigns: 1) that of the English who negotiated directly with the Company and complained about Dupleix and his wife Jeanne. 2) that of La Bourdonnais, who succeeded in being acquitted with the help of his political clan of aristocrats hostile to La Pompadour, who protected Dupleix. 3) that of the captains of ships who reported to the director [a certain Charles Robert Godeheu de Zaimont] of the Compagnie des Indes, in Lorient, the gossip of the Indies. The so-called Treaty of Godeheu which put an end to the French Indies [1755] specified that the two companies, English and French, renounced all the territories and advantages acquired since the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; the English company, which had acquired nothing, lost nothing; the French company abandoned immense territories with 30 million subjects or protégés. It was a treaty of fools for which Godeheu probably obtained benefits in kind from the B.E.I.C.

reinforcements arrived. It was Admiral Griffin's squadron. Paradis then brought his little troop back behind the ramparts of Pondicherry.

Consequence of this French defeat : There was no fighting because the arrival of large reinforcements interrupted this blockade protocol.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Henry Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive; the beginning of empire.* **Published, Archon Books, Hamden, Connecticut. 1968. ♦L. Luceney,** *Dupleix, conquérant des Indes fabuleuses*, **Editions Zimmermann, Paris, 1946. ♦JeanGeorges Prosper,** *L'île Maurice, ancienne Isle de France, fille de la Révolution*, **Proag Print, SainteCroix, PortLouis, c1989. ♦Marc Vigié, Dupleix, Fayard, Paris, c1993.**

Fort St.David (Priv.Coll)



Siege & Battle of Ghent.

Date of the action : 9 June 1745.

Location : Belgium. Geographical coordinates: 51°.03' north latitude, and 03° 43' east longitude. [See the toponymic map of Flanders located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend, from 10 to 23 August 1745]

Context: Tournai taken, the French formed the project of taking Ghent. Louis XV led the French army on the Dender to contain the Anglo-Allied army, which therefore did not take the risk of crossing it.

Chiefs in attendance ♦: French Lieutenant-Generals de Blanquet, du Chayla and Lowendal[269].

Troops engaged ♦: 6,000 men on both sides.

Strategy or Tactics : There were so many strongholds in this theatre of operations that it was impossible to place sufficient garrisons in all of them. A small residual garrison was therefore left permanently, and reinforcements were introduced as soon as a siege threat was felt. Thus, the so-called *Covering Army* did not weaken too much.

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[269] Ulric, Frederick, Waldemar, Count of Lowendal, Marshal of France born in Hamburg, died in Paris [17001755]. He was successively in the service of Poland, Russia, and then France; distinguished himself during this War of the Austrian Succession, took Bergen-op-Zoom and Maëstricht. His perfect knowledge of French and his remarkable erudition opened the doors of the Academy of Sciences to him.

Summary of the action : While Lieutenant-Generals Du Chayla and Lowendal were advancing on Ghent, the one on the right, the other on the left of the Scheldt [L'Escaut], a corps of 6,000 Anglo-Allies, who had set out from Aalst to throw themselves into the city of Ghent before the siege, met Du Chayla's columns on the 9th, and, at the end of the ensuing battle, was entirely defeated. The tactic followed was a simple cavalry assault. The siege consisted of the usual succession of parallels, approach trenches, breach batteries, then a general assault. On the 11th, Lowendal having carried the place with sword in hand, and facilitated the entrance of the Marquis Du Chayla, the French forced the Anglo-Allied garrison to retire to the citadel, where they were taken prisoner of war on the 15th, to the number of 700 men.

Casualties ♦unknown.

Consequence of this Anglo-Allied defeat : This French victory deprived the Allies of all communication with maritime Flanders and put the French in possession of their main logistical stocks and their siege artillery made up of large guns. It also provided the French troops with abundant provisions during the rest of the campaign. In addition, it opened the roads to the richest cantons of the Austrian Netherlands to the French. The Anglo-Allies withdrew beyond Brussels.

SOURCES & FURTHER READINGS ♦Acte royal du 15 mars 1744 à Versailles, Ordonnance... portant déclaration de guerre contre le Roy d'Angleterre..., Imprimerie royale, Paris, 1744. ♦Major Z..., La Guerre de la Succession d'Autriche (1740-1748). Campagne de 1744 dans les Pays-Bas ; opérations militaires sur le Rhin et sur le Main en 1745, M. Imhaus et R. Chapelot, Paris, 1913. ♦J.M. White, The Life and Times of Marshal de Saxe, London 1962. ♦Hubert Camon, Maurice de Saxe, maréchal de France, [avec un dispositif de la bataille de Fontenoy], Paris, 1934.

The Château of Ghent. Priv.Coll.

Siege of Gingi.

Other spellings : Jingi, Gingy, Gingee.

Date of the action : 11 September 1750.

Location : Gingi, a town located 75 km NW of Pondicherry, in the Indian Carnatic[270]. 12º25, -79º41

Conflict : France and England had been officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748].

Context : After the great battle of River Panar, during which Auteuil's small Franco-Indian army succeeded in defeating Muhammad Ali's large army of 20,000 men [including 15,000 cavalry], the prestige of the French among the Indian princes was at its peak. Dupleix decided to exploit his victory by attacking the reputedly impregnable fortress of Gingi, which he believed commanded the Indian Carnatic area. Gingi being one of the key fortresses of the Carnatic, Dupleix ordered de Bussy to seize it.

Chiefs in attendance ♦Charles-Joseph Patissier, Marquis de Bussy-Castelnau[271]; the Comte d'Auteuil. ♦Mohamed-Ali. Unknown English chief.

[270] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.
[271] Born in Ancienville (Aisne, France) in 1718 and died in Pondicherry at the beginning of 1785.

Troops engaged ♦250 French soldiers and 1,200 Sepoys, with 4 cannons. ♦11 to 13,000 men including 1000 Sepoys and about twenty English gunners with 8 guns.

Strategy or Tactics : It was one of the three key cities of the Carnatic along with Trichinopoly and Arcate. The city of Gingi, surrounded by thick walls and flanked by towers, was situated at the foot of three mountains which formed the vertices of an equilateral triangle. Each of these mountains was defended by a citadel erected on its summit, and the sides were protected by sheer rocks, in which the hand of men had made paths, the only passages which gave access to the three fortresses. A belt of advanced works further contributed to make the approach extremely difficult; and it was no wonder that the Indians considered Gingi impregnable. This reputation had made it the place of refuge for all the defeated armies, and the remnants of the army of Mohamed-Ali, numbering from 10,000 to 12,000 men, had sought there the protection which so strong a position seemed bound to ensure. It was the most important fortress in Carnatic.

Summary of the action: Bussy had under his command 250 Frenchmen and 1,200 French-trained Sepoys, with 4 pieces of field artillery. He arrived before Gingi on September 11th. The French camped 5 km from the town where they were informed that the Anglo-Indian army of Mohamed Ali, which was encamped on the glacis of the city[272] and was preparing to attack them, numbered 10 or 12,000 men, 1000 English Sepoys trained in the European style and an artillery manned by English gunners [8 pieces]. Soon the Anglo-Indians began to advance in order to take advantage of their numerical superiority. The French waited until they came within

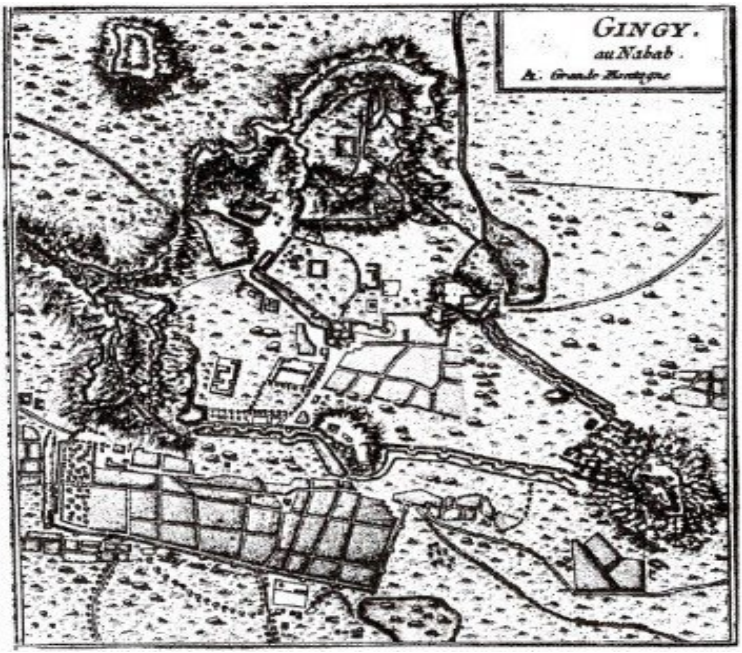
[272] It is only a figure of speech meaning "under the walls of". The dilapidation of the fortifications could not give hope of a glacis. The glacis was a gentle, unobstructed slope that started from the crest of the covered path [outer edge of the ditch or counterscarp], and descended to normal ground level.

pistol range and opened fire on order. At the same time, the 4 French guns went into action against the Indian Cavalry. This discharge stopped the Indian attackers and spread confusion in their ranks. They were already disbanded when the bulk of the French army under the command of d'Auteuil appeared. A general panic then spread within the Anglo-Indian army; and de Bussy took advantage of this to throw himself upon the English artillery and seize the English guns and cannoneers. Then he ordered the fugitives to be pursued under the city walls, which was under the protection of fortress artillery, which was also manned by English artillerymen. But de Bussy passed over and continued to pursue them. The French arrived at the main gate of the city, placed charges of powder, blew it up, and rushed to the assault, sabre in hand. The hand-to-hand combat lasted until the evening. By nightfall, the city of Jingi was in French hands. But as the town was dominated by three mountains, all three surmounted by fortifications, the Anglo-Indians, entrenched on high ground, poured incessant fire on Bussy's troops. At first, de Bussy replied with a mortar, but as soon as the moon had hidden, he sent three French "commandos" to scale the three hills, simultaneously. The assault on the three citadels was made under the heavy fire of the garrison; "To judge", of course. Redoubt after redoubt, they arrived at the citadels which crowned the hills, and, after fighting all night, the first light of dawn greeted their victory. Les 3 citadelles étaient tombées entre les mains des Français. From Gingi, Bussy emerged from the shadows. This siege was so extraordinary[273] that it gave incomparable prestige to the French in the Indian subcontinent.

Casualties ♦A few dozen French killed. A few hundred Anglo-Indians.

[273] Gingi was a triple eagle's nest, as we have said.

Consequence of this Anglo-Indian defeat : On December 26, 1750, Muzaffar Jung, who had become, thanks to Dupleix, the "Subadar of Dekkan[274]", at the head of the 35 million inhabitants of South India, came to Pondicherry to appoint Dupleix Nabob [Nawwab or governor] of the territory south of the Krishna River as far as Cape Comorin[275]. This gave enormous economic advantages to the *French East India Company*. The Parisian shareholders were very satisfied with it.



Gingi and its three fortified hills, in a triangle. Archives of Pondicherry. Priv.Coll.

[274] In place of the pro-Englishman Nazir Jung.
[275] The southernmost cape of Hindustan.

Gingy or Gingee, India. This huge impregnable fortress (7 sq kilometers) dates back to the 9th century. Called "Troy of the East" by the British, Gingee comprises of three self-contained citadels atop three hills connected by walls 66 ft wide and surrounded by a wide moat.

Priv.Coll.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦John Charpentier, Dupleix et l'empire des Indes, Mame, Tours, 1937. ♦Pierre de Vaissière, *Dupleix*, Plon, Paris, 1931. ♦Auguste Toussaint, *Histoire des îles Mascareignes*, Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1972. ♦Colonel G.B. Malleson CSI, *History of the French in India*, John Grant, Édimbourg, 1909.

Attack on Gondelour.

Date of the action: June 27, 1748.

Location: 21km south of Pondicherry, 3km south of Fort Saint-David, Carnatic coast, India. Today Cuddalore. Geographical co-ordinates: 11°45' north latitude, and 79°45' east longitude[276]. Context: In the Far Eastern theatre of operations according to modern terminology[277], colonial rivalries continued.

Chiefs ♦on the *English* side, Major Lawrence[278]. ♦*French*: the direct leader is unknown. Dupleix[279] had organized the raid.

Troops engaged ♦1,800 *French*, including 800 Europeans. ♦*English*: 2,000 men, including 1000 Europeans.

Strategy or Tactics : Major Lawrence's cunning was effective in that the French waited until night to attack. If they had attacked immediately during the day, when the English had deserted the city walls, the trap would have turned against the one who had the idea. But Major Lawrence thus began a long career as a leader full of initiative, and above all of luck, for fortune and success smile only on the bold.

Summary of the action : On 27 June, Admiral Griffin's English fleet having moved away from Fort Saint-David, Dupleix wanted

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[276] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.
[277] Or Middle East.
[278] Stringer Lawrence [16971775], an English officer who, in 20 years, rose from ensign to major general. He served in Gibraltar, Flanders, and the Indies. He was also present at the Battle of Culloden, when the Scots were finally defeated by the English. Lieutenant colonel in 1752 and major general in 1766. That year, he left India to return to his native England.
[279] Joseph Dupleix was born in Landrecies in the north of France on January 1, 1697. At a very young age he was sent by his father to the Indies to work for the French East India Company. He married Jeanne de Castro, a Creole of Portuguese origin, who was admirably acquainted with the languages and customs of the Indies. Dupleix became governor of Pondicherry and governor-general of the French possessions in India in 1742. Returned to France in 1754,

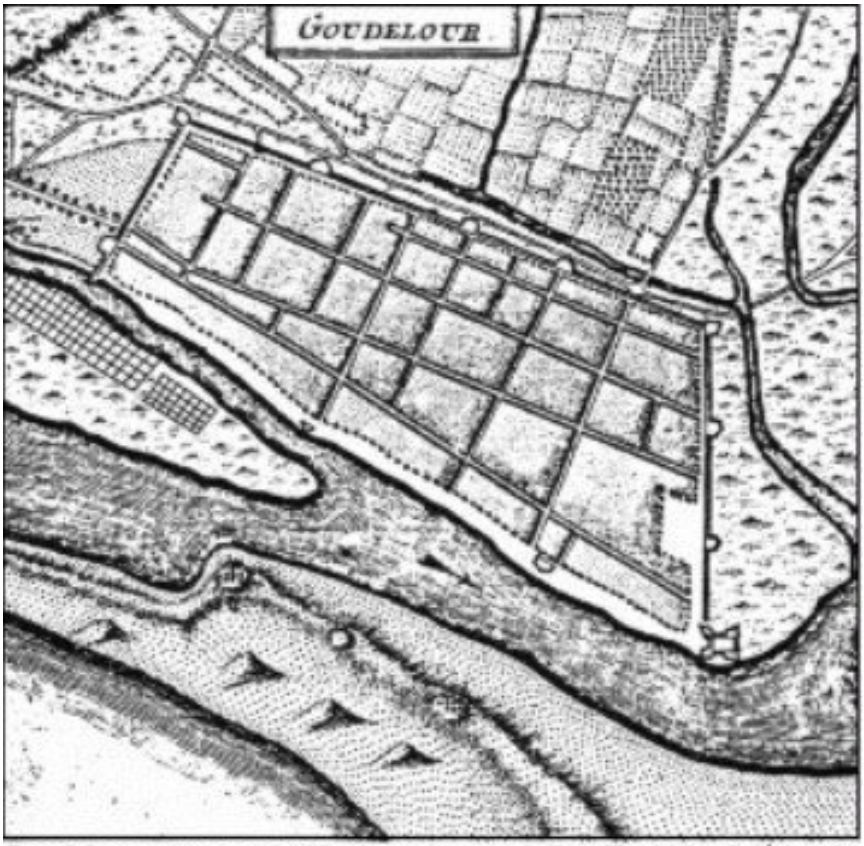
to take advantage of the situation to attempt a coup de main on Gondelour. On the 27th, therefore, he sent 1,800 men, including 800 Europeans, by a circuitous route which would lead them unnoticed to this city, on which they would fall at night. But Major Lawrence, who had been in command of the British forces in India for six months, was informed of this by his spies. He made no secret of this news, and trumpeted to anyone who would listen that he intended to defend only the fort of Gondelour, where he concentrated the garrison and fortress artillery of the city which he claimed to want to abandon. The spies of the French, completely duped by what they had observed during the day, warned the French. But when night came, the cunning Lawrence brought back to the ramparts of the city his strong garrison and artillery. Believing the city to be undefended, the French advanced in disorder, neglecting all precautions. Their ladders were scarcely erected against the walls, when a discharge of grapeshot and musketry shot them at point-blank range, sowing confusion and death among their troops. They retreated in disorder towards Pondicherry.

Casualties: Fairly heavy on the French side.

As a result of this French defeat, Gondelour remained in the hands of the English. The effect was above all moral on the local princes.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Robert Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, from the Year* MDCCXLV *[1745] to Which is Prefixed a Dissertation on the Establishments made by Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan,* 2 volumes, 4e Édition revue et corrigée, Pharaoah and Co, Madras, 1861. ♦Wilbert Harold Dalgliesh, The Company of the Indies in the days of Dupleix, Chemical Publishing Co., Inc., Easton, Pennsylvania, 1933. ♦Amédée Nagapen, *Histoire de la Colonie : Isle de France, Île Maurice, 17211968*, Diocèse de PortLouis, PortLouis, 1996.

Dupleix spent the last years of his life in painful disputes with the Company for the restitution of the fortune he had sacrificed to the interests of his country. He died in 1763. Priv.Coll.



Gondelour, avec ses fortifications. Le nom indien [Cuddalore] dérive de *kuttal-ur* qui signifie *ville-jonction*. Le fort était en effet destiné à contrôler la confluence de la Panar [Ponnaiyār] avec son tributaire la Gadilam. Archives de la Bibliothèque municipale de Pondichéry.

Battle of Grand-Pré.

Date of the action: 1012 February 1746

Location: The village is now a national historical park in Nova Scotia on the shores of the Minas Basin. 45° 08' North; 64° 18' West. It is located 15 km from Wolfville and 90 km from Halifax[280].

Context: In order to reconquer the fortress of Louisbourg that had fallen into English hands a few months earlier, a French Expeditionary Force was prepared; a naval operation from France, and simultaneously a combined intervention by a Canadian army from Quebec City. But d'Anville's powerful French squadron, which received this mission, was from the outset the victim of an unheard-of misfortune that caused the work of reconquering Acadia to fail. After many delays, the squadron finally set sail from Brest on 22 May 1746.

After headwinds forced the ships to take refuge in La Rochelle, the Expeditionary Force left that port on 20 June. Immediately he was attacked and dispersed by a terrible storm, then the winds dropped, took up again, and drove the ships in various directions. A great deal of time was lost, countless masts broken and sails torn. Finally, another storm completed the damage of the squadron as it approached Sable Island in Acadia. The disease carried off more than 2,500 men [soldiers and sailors] along the way,

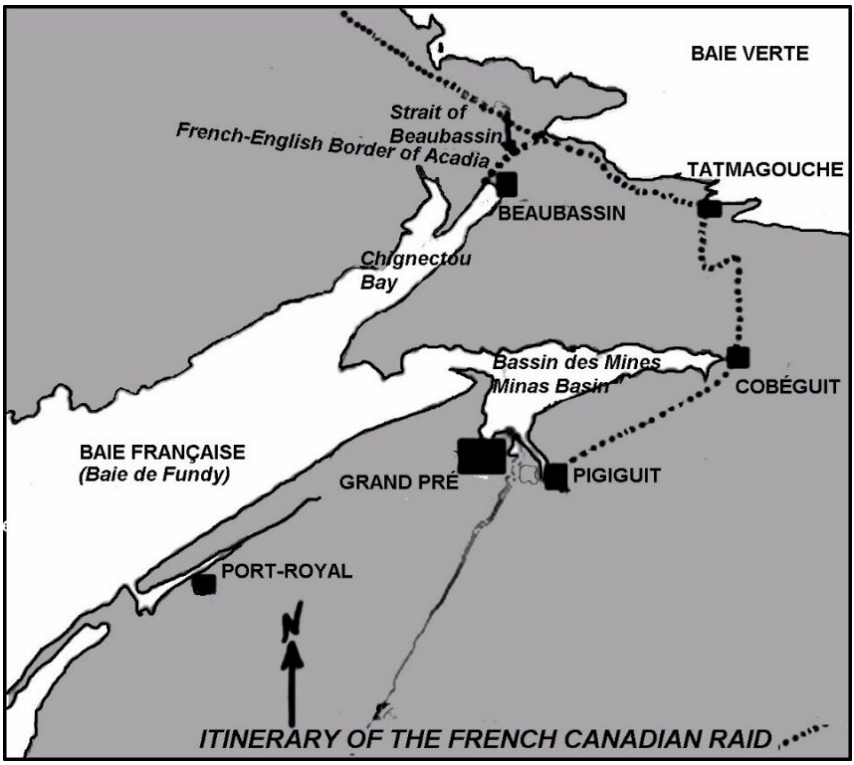
[280] Halifax was founded two years later, in 1749, with ashlars (imported from France) from the demolition of the Fortress of Louisbourg. This fortress was rebuilt identically in the 1970s (by Pierre trudeau) for tourism purposes.

who had to be immersed with a cannonball as a viaticum[281]. The surviving soldiers and sailors were exhausted. The admiral-in-chief himself, Jean-Baptiste de Roye de La Rochefoucauld, duc d'Anville, died of these diseases on arriving on the coast of Acadia. During a council of war on board The TRIDENT, d'Estournelle[282], d'Anville's successor, proposed to abandon the campaign, but met with the obstinate refusal of the other officers. Faced with this opposition, d'Estournelle, discouraged, went to isolate himself without a word in the next cabin and committed suicide by impaling himself on his own officer's sword. Jonquière[283] immediately took command.

The presence of d'Anville's squadron in Acadian waters — with the evident aim of retaking the fortresses of Louisbourg and Port-Royal d'Acadie— threw terror and panic into the Thirteen Colonies; fervent prayers were recited and incessantly repeated in all the Protestant temples of New England. The poet Longfellow expressed the feelings and fears of his countrymen as follows: *"Oh Lord! We would not advise; But if in their Providence // A tempest should arise // To drive the French Fleet hence, // And scatter it far and wide, // Or sink it in the sea, // We should be satisfied, // and thine the glory be..." //.* Evidently God had heard the poet long before he rhymed his fervent prayer, since the French squadron had been delayed by contrary winds, and largely destroyed by violent storms and deadly epidemics[284]. In the face of this danger of

[281] And above all, ballast.
[282] Vice Admiral d'Estournelle was d'Anville's second-in-command. The Council of War took place in the harbour of Chebouctou, that is to say in the present city of Halifax, near Raquette Island [now George's Island], not far from the place where the French ammunition transport MONTBLANC exploded in 1917, the explosion of which destroyed much of Halifax.
[283] JacquesPierre de Teffanel marquis de La Jonquière, 16851752. A city in Quebec bore his name before being grouped together in the agglomeration of Saguenay.
[284] When the French squadron arrived in Acadia, it had only half of its original ships and only 1000 marines; without having met a single Englishman.

invasion[285], Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, was not content with rhyming with the Creator a few hexametric or heptametric verses. He decided to reinforce his outpost at Annapolis Royal[286]. In September 1746, he sent[287] 7,300 soldiers to increase the number of garrison to 1000.



[285] The fear of the English was, of course, the reconquest of all of Acadia by the French, but even more so the bombardment of Boston and New York by the French squadron in retaliation. The rumour had spread too, and Longfellow's first stanza read: "A fleet with flags arrayed / Sailed from the Port of Brest / And the Admiral's ship displayed / The signal: "Steer southwest. / For this Admiral d'Anville / Had sworn by cross and crown / To ravage with fire and steel / Our helpless Boston Town. / »

[286] The *Port Royal* of the French, former capital of French Acadia.

[287] From Boston.

When the French squadron returned to France at the beginning of November 1746, the English (Shirley) decided to reoccupy[288] the Acadian area from Boston. This invading army commanded by Colonel Arthur Noble consisted of 500 soldiers. In the late fall these men sailed for the basin of Annapolis Royal, which would serve as a base of departure. A detachment of 100 men [Charles Morris] marched to Grand-Pré, 100 km away, to reinforce the garrison. The rest of the British forces and heavy equipment were to follow by boat. The Canadians —who showed a marked penchant for winter raids— learned that the English were taking up their *winter quarters* at Grand-Pré [Minas Basin]. Ramezay immediately formed a *guerrilla party* under the command of Nicolas Antoine Coulon de Villiers, with the chevalier Louis François Chapt de La Corne as his second-in-command; the officer corps also included Major Daniel Hyacinthe Marie Liénard de Beaujeu and Charles des Champs de Boishébert, Ramezay's nephew who was only 19 years old. All excellent leaders trained in the harsh school of Acadian and North American guerrilla warfare. On January 23, 1747, a commando (a party) of 300 Canadians wearing snowshoes pulled their sleds across the Isthmus of Chignecto, the border between France and England in America[289]. They followed the coast and arrived on the 26th at *Tatmagouche*, a French village, where the soldiers ate and allowed themselves some rest. Then the French entered inland in the general direction of *Cobeguit*[290]. A reconnaissance patrol was sent forward to avoid surprises in case the progress was known to the English. The expedition reached the head of the frozen *Chiganois* River, which it followed in the direction of the *Minas Basin*. On January 31st, 1757, the commandos reached the first [French-Acadian] village in the *Minas Basin*,

[288] Apart from the strongholds held by English garrisons, the country was in full dissent, refusing to be handed over to England.
[289] For French Acadia was in the hands of the English. The Isthmus of Chignecto was also known by its French name, the Isthmus of Beaubassin.
[290] Sometimes written Cobequid [Truro today]

Nijaganiche, where they resupplied and then marched to *Cobeguit*. On the bank of the *Shoubenacadia River* which obstructed their march, they paused. Not having enough canoes to overcome the obstacle, they decided to go up about thirty kilometers upstream, in an area where the river would be frozen. On the other hand, Boishébert and a dozen determined men crossed the scene in a canoe. At the confluence of the *Shoubénacadie* and the *Stouiaque*, there was a Mi'kmaq mission of Abbé Le Loutre, a French missionary who was of great importance in the organization of the Acadian maquis[291]. On 7 February, Boishébert rejoined the Main body of the guerrilla party. They went down the Kennetcook River to *Pigiguit*. In this French village[292], the commandos slept for the first time in beds, welcomed into the homes of the inhabitants, after taking care to station sentinels along every access road.

On 9 February a violent blizzard broke out, making the advance more arduous but concealing it entirely from the English at *Grand-Pré*. To prepare for battle, the French halted midway between *Pigiguit* and *Grand-Pré*. Villiers divided his men into ten combat groups: seven of 26 men each, one[293] of 50; another[294] of 40; and a final one of 28[295]. That evening, at around nine o'clock, they stopped at the first houses of *Grand-Pré* waiting for total darkness. Motionless in the bitter cold, their limbs gradually stiffened as the frost set in. One detachment pushed forward toward the Mélançon house.

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[291] After the ethnic cleansing of Acadia, Boishébert did not abandon the Acadians, as the Harkis of Algeria later were. Instead, he resettled a large number of them on the Île de Ré, which had been depopulated by the earlier British occupation.
[292] Or Piziquid, today rename *Windsor*.
[293] This combat group was commanded by Villiers himself.
[294] This one by La Corne. It should be noted that the modern terms "commando", "guerrilla", "blockhouse", "maquis" and other expressions, were anachronistic in the eighteenth century? At that time, the French Army's irregular light troops were known as *Les Grassins, les La Morlière* and *Les Cantabres* (the latter recruited from the Basque Country).
[295] Commissioned by Lotbinière.

Great was the surprise of the Mélançons who were in the midst of celebrating the marriage of one of their daughters, when the door suddenly opened. Voices, music and the warmth of the feast spilled out into the night, only to fall upon white phantoms — men armed to the teeth, their beards and moustaches stiff with frost, their faces hardened by the brutal and harsh winter. Everything fell silent at once. The Acadians' eyes first widened with stupor and terror, then softened with joy and hope as they recognized the Canadians.

From Coulon de Villiers, the Acadian learned that the English garrison had taken up residence on the opposite bank[296] of the Gaspereau River. To do so, the English soldiers had driven French families from twenty-four farmhouses, clustered together along a raised ridge chosen for its defensive advantage. One sturdy stone dwelling had been converted into a blockhouse, a strongpoint and refuge in case of attack. The French commandos divided into small combat teams, each group taking shelter in two houses. There they dried their clothes, warm their limbs, filled powder horns, and check muskets, carefully wrapping the ammunitions to keep them dry until the decisive hour. The young girls of these Acadian families began to cook fervently for the proud Canadian commandos. The attack was set for 2:30 a.m.

Before departure, the priest passed from house to house, giving absolution to men who might soon meet their deaths. Then the commandos plunged back into the storm to — under the guidance of Acadian guides — occupy the starting positions in front of their respective objectives. It was pitch black and the men could hardly make out anything, their faces whipped by the icy snow, and by the wind howling mournfully.

[296] The west bank.

Officers in Command ♦*French*: When Nicolas Antoine II Coulon de Villiers was put out of action during the battle, he was replaced by La Corne. In command of the Indians. Joseph Beausoleil Broussard (or Brossard, 1702- died in Louisiana in 1765), Acadian captain of the Militia, was the same one who would become a leader of the "*guerrilla"* (armed resistance) after the ethnic cleansing of French Acadia by the British. ♦*English*: William Shirley[297] had been the English governor of Massachusetts since 1741; he directed the general strategy on the Atlantic coast. Colonel Arthur Noble commanded the English garrison at Grand-Pré. Upon his death, Noble was succeeded by Benjamin Goldthwaite.

Troops involved; ♦*French*: 300 Canadian *groupes franc soldiers* or commandos, Acadians, Malicite Indians [298] and Micmacs [*Mi'kmaq*] of Acadia. ♦*English*: The English garrison at Grand-Pré totaled 700 professional soldiers.

Strategy or Tactics: General Strategy of the 1746 Campaign in Acadia: In order to retake the fortress of Louisbourg and Port-Royal-d'Acadie, a combined attack was decided: a French squadron[299] was sent in 1746 to French Acadia, while a troop of French commandos [Ramezay] from Canada was to proceed with the

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[297] Born in London in 1694; d. in Roxbury, Mass., in 1771.

[298] The Maliseet [also called Malécites or Etchemins] were Indians who settled along the Saint John River in New Brunswick. The name is said to be a pejorative nickname given to them by the Souriquois [also called Micmac, an Indian people of Acadia] and which in Micmac means "those who speak badly" because they did not understand them. Not to be confused with the Amalekites, a people of the Middle East, descended from Amalek, grandson of Esau whom King David exterminated to appropriate their territory, on the pretext that "God had assigned to him this territory already populated.".

[299] D'Anville's squadron consisted of 20 warships, 32 transports loaded with 3000 regular soldiers and war material, as well as 21 smaller auxiliary ships (fireships, logistics ships, equipment transports, etc.). The crews totaled 10,000 sailors. In addition, Admiral Conflans with 4 large warships was to come from the West Indies to link up with d'Anville in the roadstead of Chébouctou [now Halifax]. It was the largest wing to call North America at that time.

reconquest of Acadia by land in conjunction with Squadron[300] and the Acadian guerrilleros. Quebec also sent 570 tons of logistics equipment by sea [see note below]. The Acadians of the occupied territories, for their part, provided food, fighters and guides. Battle of Grand-Pré Tactics: Surprise commando attack, in the middle of winter and in the midst of a snowstorm. This battle is an example of the guerrilla warfare waged by Canadians, Acadians and Francophile Indians on the territory of the former Acadia until the Treaty of Paris (1763). The difference in numbers —300 French against 700 English— required a surprise attack. The English allowed themselves to be surprised by negligence. They had not erected the demountable redoubts which they had brought on the ships. They had not placed the slightest sentinel. The ammunition for their five artillery pieces had not even been unloaded from the ships. Even the food had not been unloaded to be safely stored in the blockhouse houses to withstand a possible siege. Arthur Noble, the British commander-in-chief, had shown culpable incompetence. He paid dearly for it with his own life. This probably saved him from the court-martial and firing squad.

Summary of the action : The violent, icy snowstorm —which could convince the English that no French attack threatened their safety— desperately blinded the French who were ready for battle and in an assault position. The Acadian peasants had served as guides for the commando groups to position them at their attack posts, because in the snowstorm the soldiers, who had no knowledge of the area, lost all sense of direction. Moreover, despite the presence of the guides, some commandos did not manage to find their fighting position. Thus Coulon de Villiers, who had given himself the most difficult mission, to attack the large stone house, found himself posted in front of the house that Lotbinière

[300] On December 5, 1746, 5 Canadian merchant ships entered Chébouctou loaded with logistical equipment [570 tons] from Quebec. It was Canada's contribution to the reconquest of Acadia. But the French squadron had already left.

was to attack. The interior of the latter house was lighted by the faint and flickering light of a few candles. Suddenly the door was violently opened, and an English soldier cut himself out in the crack. The French soldiers, 15 meters away, did not move. "*Who goes there?*" cried the redcoat. The howls of the wind answered him. The Englishman searched the darkness through the swirling flakes, then entered and closed the door with a frown. The French were approaching the walls when the door opened again with force, and the Englishman uttered a howl of terror as he raised the alarm. As the English soldiers rushed to their weapons, Beaujeu murmured: "*This is the time!*" And Coulon de Villiers rushed towards the gate, sword in hand, at the head of his men. Three shots exploded in the house and de Villiers collapsed. Those who followed him passed over his body, and in the fierce fight that ensued, the 21 English soldiers who defended themselves fiercely were put to the bayonet by the Canadians, who were furious at having lost their leader. Three raised their arms in sign of surrender; they were spared and taken prisoner. The French had two seriously wounded: Coulon de Villiers, the commander-in-chief, and Lusignan, a junior officer[301]. They were immediately loaded onto sledges and dispatched to the houses on the Gaspereau River where the commandos had rested before the battle; there the surgeon, Just, took care of them. Beaujeu took command of de Villiers' combat group[302]. The stormy night was filled with detonations and lightning as the commandos attacked the other houses in Grand-Pré in which the English were ambushing. The battle was raging. The crackling of muskets, the war-cries of the Indians and also of the Acadians who had spontaneously joined them, the creaking of wooden doors and shutters that burst under the tremendous blows of the axe, the

[301] Captain **Paul-Louis Dazemard de Lusignan** (1691 in Champlain, New France–died in Québec City in 1759), an officer of the *Troupes de la Marine*. His service record places him in Canada in this period (commandant at *Baie-des-Puants* -Western Frontier- to 1747; later commandant at Fort Saint-Frédéric).

[302] It was partly his battle diary that was used to establish this account.

howls of fear of the English soldiers shut up in the total darkness of the interior, all this formed a horrible and nightmarish cacophony. The English, awakened with a start, filled with panic, defended themselves with the courage of despair, knowing that they would be scalped if they fell into the hands of the Indians. The French and Indians broke down the doors and stormed the houses, killing with knives or bayonets the English soldiers who tried to resist or hide in the shadows.

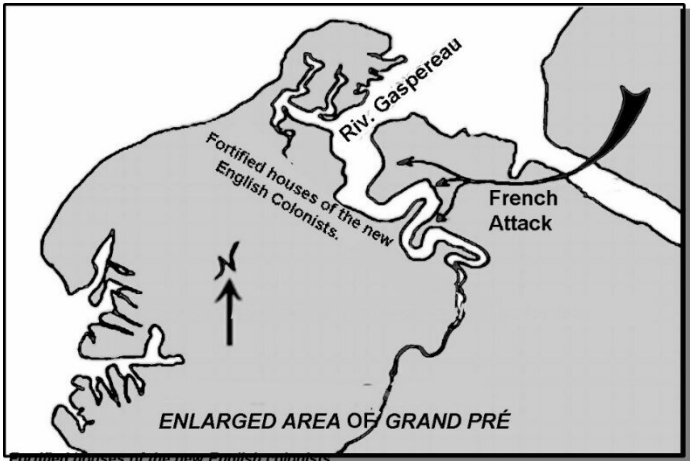
The large stone house —the blockhouse— which had escaped attack at the beginning of the battle thanks to a guide's error, served as a refuge for a number of English soldiers who managed to escape from the attacked houses. This blockhouse had stone walls capable of resisting cannonballs but also fire. More than 400 English soldiers ended up crammed into this solid building armed with 5 guns, two of which were 4-pounder and three lighter on pivots. But it does not seem that they were even used for lack of ammunition. The English had not yet unloaded the ammunition from the ships. As for Colonel Noble, he had that evening, for some mysterious reason[303], taken up residence in a wooden house situated a few hundred yards from the stone blockhouse. The house in which Noble slept was attacked at the beginning of the battle by La Corne's French commando. The door was cracked and destroyed with an axe by the French. "Noble jumped into his bed, seized his sword in one hand and a pistol in the other, and rushed against the French, who inflicted two wounds on him before offering him to capitulate, as his order testified. Noble, who lived up to his name, refused. A French soldier then killed him with a bullet in the head." The French invaded the rest of the house held by other English officers, including Noble's brother, Ensign Francis Noble, who was also shot on the spot. Another officer, Edward How, was

[303] Perhaps to spare himself the unbearable promiscuity of the stone house.

caught in the fray and seriously wounded[304]. The British officers who were still alive raised their arms in surrender. La Corne, who had become commander-in-chief in place of Villiers, kept this house as command post. The hubbub of the battle was diminishing in intensity. The English practically held only the large stone blockhouse in which the fugitives had taken refuge. Visibility was virtually nil, and moving shadows could be friendly as well as foe. La Corne decided that, at daybreak, two commandos[305] should go and seize the two moored ships and their cargo, as the Acadians had reported. To protect them, a garrison of 10 English soldiers had been stationed in a hovel, *Le Vieux Logis*, located near the ships. But the British soldiers who held this corps of guards capitulated without a fight. On February 10 at noon, the stone blockhouse was in turn invested. Of the initial 300 soldiers, the French had suffered casualties of 22 wounded or killed, and 50 had left the sector[306]. La Corne no longer had enough manpower to storm the blockhouse. The English, for their part, had suffered heavy Casualties, totaling 269 men[307]. Despite everything, nothing was lost because the English still fielded superior numbers to the French; more than 450 able-bodied English[308] against 228 French. They could easily have taken the initiative in the offensive. On the morning of the 11th, the day dawned. The French were entrenched in their pristine snow positions. Intermittent gunfire punctuated the hushed calm of the snowy landscape. The garrison of the stone blockhouse being numerically superior to the whole of the French siege forces, the French were wondering why the English did not launch any offensive sortie, when, in the morning, the gate of the

[304] He lost his left arm but survived the battle.
[305] That of Monsieur de La Colombière and that of Monsieur de Boishébert.
[306] Some Indians had indeed left with their booty taken from the English.
[307] Of whom 140 were killed, 60 wounded and 69 prisoners.
[308] Grouped in the blockhouse and in the crews of the two ships.

blockhouse suddenly opened and 300 red coats rushed into the no man's land of almost virgin snow that reached their chests.



The French opened a hellish fire. The English soldiers stooped to hide in the snow trenches they dug as they advanced. A few cries of pain threw panic into their tight ranks. The snow turned red, and they quickly retreated to take refuge, not without jostling at the narrow door, in their blockhouse, which was immediately locked and barred. In the blurred atmosphere, beaten by the morning blowing snow[309], the fleur-de-lis flag faced the union-jack. In the meantime, two English officers[310] who were being cared for by the French and who, like all English officers of the time spoke French fluently, suggested to the French that they propose to the English garrison a capitulation which would have the appearance of honorability, in spite of the fact that the English, who were much more numerous, could have fought if they had felt the desire to do so. A ceasefire was agreed at 9:00 a.m. on the 12th. At dawn that day, the French observed that English soldiers, who were dying of

[309] After the storm has stopped [wind with snow showers], blowing snow in Canada is the snow-laden wind picked up on the ground.
[310] Edward How and Arthur Noble.

thirst in their blockhouse, were slipping out —taking advantage of the truce— to go and get water from a frozen stream whose ice they were breaking[311]. As the French of the countervallation line refused to allow them this freedom, an English officer[312] went out under the white parliamentary flag and headed for the French HQ. Prebble laid on the table a proposal for capitulation written in French: **1**—the English prisoners of war should be released; **2**—all the booty taken from the English would be returned; **3**—the two captured English vessels would be returned; **4**—the English troops would have the liberty to retreat to Annapolis Royal with the honors of war [Sic !], one pound of powder and bullets per soldier, and 6 individual rations in their haversacks. **5**—in return, the English undertook to abandon to the victorious French all their artillery as well as the ammunition of the mouth and of war. Obviously, the English were asking for a maximum in the hope of obtaining a minimum. Unfortunately, their demands only angered La Corne. He furiously struck out the clauses for the return of prisoners of war and ships. As for the booty, there was no question of returning it; the Indians had left the day before with the proceeds of their plunder. On the other hand, the *Honours of War*[313] —which cost the French nothing— were liberally granted to the English garrison, which thus obtained permission to retreat to Annapolis Royal, but which was only released *on parole*, that is, the soldiers took an oath on the Bible not to bear arms against the French for six months. The English officers accepted everything and signed the capitulation with clenched teeth.

Casualties ♦*English*: just over 140 killed. As soon as the English capitulation was initialed, it was decided to bury the dead. The

[311] Strange behaviour when the snow could have quenched the thirst of the garrison! But anyway, they had to go out to get some.
[312] Lieutenant Prebble.
[313] Despite the fact that they were capitulating to a smaller army. The Canadians could not afford to keep and feed hundreds of prisoners. Freedom on parole solved this problem. However, prisoners sometimes violated their oaths, risking being shot if they were caught with weapons in their hands.

snow was cleared by English prisoners and the frozen ground dug with a thousand difficulties[314]. ♦*French*: 22 wounded or killed.

As a result of this English defeat, the evening before the British troops left for Annapolis Royal, the British officers organized a farewell banquet in the blockhouse to honor the Canadians. The English officers who had been impressed by this daring raid by Canadian soldiers in the depths of winter —and anyone who knows the harshness of Canadian winters knows what it means in terms of cold, fatigue, and suffering— chose to mark this occasion with a gesture of *fraternization*. The Canadians accepted. La Corne and Goldthwaite took their seats at either end of the long table, flanked by officers on both sides. Acadian deputies from the region were also invited to share the meagre military fare, to which the local Acadian population added their own contribution.

The next day —Valentine's Day—, the English soldiers, prisoners *on parole*, filed out of the stone blockhouse in pairs. With haversacks and snowshoes strapped to their backs, muskets on their shoulders; drums beating and their flag unfurled[315]; they marched between two rows of Canadian soldiers in blue coats, rifles shouldered. Then they set off toward Annapolis Royal, a hundred kilometers away, facing a grueling trek through the bitter cold of Acadia.

This English capitulation —achieved by a French force numbering scarcely half that of its English opponents— led the

[314] The mass grave was dug near the road that goes north towards the GrandPré station. The Nobel brothers were buried together a little apart between two apple trees. A French picket of honour fired the usual volley over their graves.
[315] According to the clauses of the Honours of War (les Honneurs de la Guerre).

English historian Francis Parkman to describe this battle as "one of the most gallant exploits in French-Canadian annals[316]."

SOURCES & FURTHER READINGS ♦Jacques Lacoursière, **Histoire populaire du Québec, des origines à 1791**, Editions du Septentrion, Montréal, 1996. ♦John Frederic Herbin [the only descendant of the exiled people now living in the GrandPré of the Acadians], **The history of GrandPré : the home of Longfellow's Evangeline,** Barnes, St. John, N.B., vers1911. ♦W.C. Milner (William Cochrane), **Grand Pre, a chapter in colonial history,** sans nom d'éditeur, sans date [probablement 1930]. ♦Margaret Coleman. **The Acadians at Grand Pre**, National Historic Sites Service, Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 1968. ♦James Fairservice, **Plain dealing; or, The proud man fairly dealt with. Being the substance of some thoughts and meditations upon several remarkable occurrences that were all made plain to him by experience; applicable to every man who through pride and covetousness, aims more for profit and esteem than the glory of God and the good of mankind,** James Fairservice was a volunteer in the late intended expedition to Canada, and in the fight at Minas, publié pour l'auteur, Boston, 1750.

The Acadians, or French of Acadia, had cleared, drained, and desalinated the marshes, bringing their rich arable land under cultivation, when in 1755 the British authorities launched a general ethnic cleansing of the 12,000 Acadians and distributed their fertile lands to English settlers.

[316] "One of the most courageous exploits in the annals of French-Canada." He was not the only one, far from it; see the battle of Carillon and especially the battle of Châteauguay during which 300 French-Canadians routed 7,500 American soldiers and 400 cavalry!

Attack on the Lérins Islands.

Date of the action: 15 December 1746 - 26 May 1747.

Location: French Mediterranean coast. Geographical coordinates: 43° 31' north latitude, and 07° 03' east longitude.

Context: Wanting to divert French forces to the south in order to relieve the other world fronts [India, America and Flanders] an offensive was launched towards the south of France. These islands had therefore been occupied and the French attacked them in order to drive the Allies out.

Commanders present *French* ♦: Marshal de Belle-Isle; General Chevert; General de Bombart. *English* ♦: unknown.

Forces: ♦*French*: 300 war invalids during the first invasion. ♦*English*: For the campaign of 1747, the English agreed to provide the Allies with four regiments of Cavalry and 14 battalions of Infantry[317]. The Duke of Cumberland could therefore total[318] 110 battalions of Infantry and 160 squadrons of Cavalry, with 220 guns, not including Grassin's irregular troops[319].

Strategy or Tactics: The Allies had no difficulty invading the Lérins Islands in the absence of any fleet and fortification worthy of the name. Fort Sainte-Marguerite was unable to beat the Gulf Juan where large English ships could anchor safely. It was only after

[317] This was very little for a nation the size of England, which could, moreover, recruit at leisure in Scotland, Ireland and German Brunswick.
[318] According to Fortescue's figures.
[319] ***Grassins,*** free troops who did not hold the regular battle line but harassed the enemy lines.

this invasion that more substantial fortifications were built: the redoubt of La Tradelière [or Lière] at the eastern tip of the island of Sainte-Marguerite; the redoubt of Saint-Caprais at the western tip of the island of Saint-Honorat; the redoubt of La Trinité at the eastern tip of the island of Saint-Honorat.

FRENCH INVASION PLAN

♦***Left wing*** at Golfe Juan under the command of Chevert and Bombart: 45 ships and half a galley. His mission was to go to the eastern tip of Île Sainte-Marguerite in the direction of La Tradelière [Monterey express]. Another division of 10 ships was to reach the island of Saint-Honorat on the east side. ♦***Center*** in Cannes with 15 logistics ships: food, equipment and tools, gunpowder, gabions, weirs,... ♦***Right wing*** in the Bay of La Napoule with 70 ships and a half-galley[320], under the orders of Barail; its mission was to move to the west of Friuli in the direction of the south coast of the island of Sainte Marguerite on the one hand, and the island of Saint-Honorat West, on the other.

SHORE BATTERIES SUPPORTING THE INVASION FROM THE MAINLAND

♦At the Golfe Juan, 3 batteries totalling 7 guns and two mortars.At ♦the Croisette, the Fort de La Croix with 2 24-pounder guns and 4 12-pounder mortars. ♦At Cannes, a battery of 2 guns and another of 4. ♦At La Napoule, a battery of 2 guns. ♦At the points of Brefadou, La Savonnière and Grosfond, 3 guns at each battery, and, at the Pointe de l'Éguille, 2 mortars.

Summary of the action : The French fleet having been totally absent from the sector, the Imperials, supported by the English squadron, had landed without difficulty on 15 December, after having carried out neutralization fire on the Fort-de-La-Croix for 24 long

[320] Small galley.

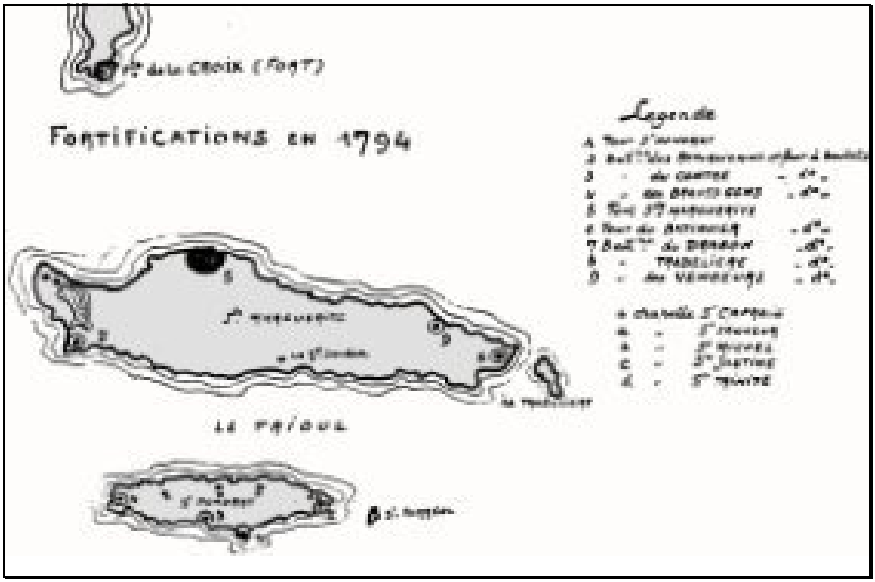
consecutive hours. The fire was directed by a bomb galiot of the English squadron. The commander of the island [named "André"], without means of resistance, capitulated without a fight. He had under his command a garrison of three companies of war invalids (gueules-cassées, penguins and legless men). "*I had swords but I didn't have arms*[321]. *I had rifles without riflemen, cannons without cannoneers, and fortifications without forts*." But on 3 February 1747, the Allies had to recross the Var, leaving troops occupying the island under the protection of the English squadron. The French Marshal de Belle-Isle directed the squadron of Toulon and Marseilles in the vicinity of the archipelago, and an Infantry Corps commanded by General Chevert garrisoned the coast[322]. The attack was launched on May 25 at 7:30 a.m. A sudden storm drove the English fleet away, and the landing could take place at a lower cost. The next evening, a battery of four 24mm guns was already beating the Royal Bastion, despite the fire of the Allies, while the mortar battery of the Fort de La Croix continued to pound the square on its mainland facade. The 700 Anglo-Allies of the garrison capitulated around 5:00 p.m. after 7 English ships had passed in front of the island of Saint-Honorat without firing a single broadside.

Casualties ♦The entire garrison of 700 men was killed or taken prisoner. ♦French casualties are unknown.

As a consequence of this Anglo-Allied defeat , the Allied garrison, taken prisoner, was deported to Nice on 28 May.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦**JeanJacques Antier,** *Les grandes heures des îles de Lérins*, **Éditions de May, Cannes, 1988. ♦Maréchal de BelleIsle, F. Mireur.** *Une Lettre du maréchal de BelleIsle (2 janvier 1748)*, **Imprimerie de C. et A. Latil, Draguignan, 1893. in Bulletin de la Société d'études scientifiques et archéologiques de la ville de Draguignan.** ♦Pierre d'Échérac, *La Jeunesse du maréchal de BelleIsle*, **H. Champion, Paris,1908. ♦Vicomte Fleury,** *Une grande ambassade au XVIIIe siècle. Le Secret du maréchal de BelleIsle*, **FirminDidot, Paris, 1934. ♦L. Alliez,** *Les Îles de Lérins, Cannes et les rivages environnants*, **Laffitte, Marseille, 1980.**

[321] He asserted, not without humor.
[322] See the French Invasion Plan in *Strategy or Tactics*.



Les îles de Lérins.

Bibliothèque municipale de Cannes.

Photo Internet.

Battle of Keith.

Date of the action: March 20, 1746.

Location: Scotland, in the Inverness region, gateway to the Highlands. 57º54315, -2º95243

Conflict: War of the Austrian Succession [17401748]. Campaign in Scotland and England by Prince Charles Edward Stuart [23 years old], candidate for the throne of Scotland.

Background: The Franco-Scots captured English forts intended to keep the Highlands subject to England. Thus, was taken, in two days' siege, *Fort George* [at Inverness, February 20], where 16 guns and 100 barrels of salt beef were found. The day before, Murray's column had made its junction with the [*Scottish Highland Mountain Army*]. Everyone hoped that more substantial French relief would restore some balance with the English army that the Franco-Scots were facing. In the meantime, 300 French soldiers[323] went to besiege *Fort-Augustus*, 50 km away. The trench was opened on 3 March and the English garrison capitulated on the 5th. The French then moved on to *Fort-William*, but the siege train did not arrive until 20 March and after an unsuccessful attempt, on 3 April[324], the besiegers had to abandon and return to Inverness, as the English army was finally approaching.

Commanders in attendance ♦*Franco-Scottish*: Major Glasgow; Captain Robert Stuart. ♦*English*: the Duke of Cumberland, son of

[323] In fact an Irish battalion of the French army.
[324] Carried out by the French [Irish] and the Scottish Highlanders.

the King of England, and the Prince of Hesse, who came to reinforce him.

Forces: ♦*English* Army: 30 English Dragoons of Kingston's Regiment and 70 Highlanders of Clan Campbell, who had gone over to the English side for religious reasons. ♦*Franco-Scottish*: 50 men of the Stuart clan with about twenty *French* soldiers.

Strategy or Tactics: Surprise attack, at night, in order to make the most of the surprise effect.

Summary of the action: Jehan Drummond, was posted behind the Spey River. Every day he sent detachments to the other side, on the other bank, in order to watch and harass the English between Fochabers and Keith. On the 20th, a patrol returned earlier than expected, announcing that a strong unit of royal troops was occupying the village of Keith. Immediately Drummond sent 50 men of the Stuart Regiment [Capt. Robert Stuart of Glenlivet] with French troops, all under Major Glasgow. They crossed the Spey in the evening and arrived in front of Keith, about 1:00 a.m., which they surrounded quietly. The sentry, a Campbell, was silenced by an axe blow. A few horsemen were stationed around the village to prevent escapes while Major Glasgow with the rest of the troops entered the streets. A guardhouse was attacked in the building of a school; the French reduced him to silence with a discharge of musketry; while the main body of the assailants attacked the church where the Campbells had entrenched themselves. The English Dragoons, who had not seen fit to set up their quarters with the allied Scots, fought in the streets and were soon killed or captured. In the end, all the Anglo-Campbells were killed or taken prisoner, except for 5 or 6 who were able to escape. On the insurgent side, only one man was killed, a Frenchman.

Casualties ♦*Franco-Scottish* : one killed and a few wounded. ♦*English*: 9 killed and many wounded; in all about a hundred men, including the 80 prisoners.

Consequence of this English defeat: Before daybreak, the Scots were back in their lines with 80 prisoners.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦John Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland**, William Craft Dickinson, 2 vol., Thomas Nelson & Sons, Londres,*** 1949.♦P. Young et ***J., Adair,*** *Hastings to Culloden*, Londres, 1964.♦Edouard ***Privat, Editeur,*** *Histoire des Protestants en France*, Toulouse, 1977.♦C.S. ***Minto,*** *Victorian and Edwardian Scotland from old photographs,* ***The Viking*** Press, New York, 1970.♦Francisque Michel, *Les Écossais*, 1841.♦Thomas ***Maclauchlan,*** *The Depopulation System in the Highlands,* ***London, 1849.***

Fort George (here), Fort Augustus and Fort William in Scotland were the strongholds of the armed occupation of the Scottish Highlands by England. Priv.Coll.

Battle of Lawfeldt.

Other names: Battle of Laffeldt, Lawfeld, Laufeld and Lauffeld, Bataille de Val, Bataille de Maastricht.

Date of the action: July 2, 1747.

Location: Immediately SW of Maëstricht [Maastricht], on the Belgian-Dutch border, between the rivers Jaar and Demer. Geographical coordinates: 50° 50' north latitude, and 05° 41' east longitude. [See the toponymic map of Flanders located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend, from 10 to 23 August 1745].

Context: Criticized by the Allies, who considered the English insufficiently committed on the European continent, Cumberland[325] resolved to give battle at Lawfeldt. He therefore attacked Clermont's French Army Corps, hoping to defeat it in detail before any reinforcement could intervene, but the remainder of the French army soon appeared on the battlefield.

Chiefs ♦*Anglo-allies* were commanded by William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland [1721-1765], nicknamed by the Scots "*the Butcher of the Scots*" after the Battle of Culloden [16 April 1746]. He had taken command of the allied forces in 1745. He was the son of King George II of England who reigned from 1727 to 1760. ♦*French*: Marshal Maurice de Saxe commanded the French[326].

[325] Who, too, desperately wanted to redeem his defeat at Fontenoy.
[326] As in Fontenoy in 1745; in fact the same two main antagonists.

Maurice Arminius de Saxe was the ancestor of George Sand and the illegitimate son of Stanisław Leszczynski, former King of Poland, expatriate, who, having become Duc de Lorraine, reigned at Lunéville [Court of Lorraine]. Stanislas was the father of Louis XV's wife.

Forces: ♦Approximately 100,000 French [including the Brigade-Irlandaise. During this war of Austrian Succession, the Irish Brigade (6 regiments or rather battalions [Dillon, Bulkeley, Clare, Berwick, Lally and Roth] of approximately 700 soldiers each, likely **counted** between 3,000 and 4,000 Irish troops, though exact numbers varied with losses, recruitment, and financing. So 3 to 4% of the whole French Army]. ♦120,000 Scots, Irish, Hanoverians, Hessians, Austrians and English. The 19 British regiments were the Greys, 4th Hussars, Inniskillings, 7th Hussars, Cumberland's Dragoons, 1st Guards, 3rd Guards, 3rd Foot, 4th Foot, 13th Foot, 19th Foot, 23rd Foot, 25th Foot, 32nd Foot, 33rd Foot, 36th Foot, 37th Foot, and 48th Foot Regiments. Mostly Highlanders and Germans.

Strategy or Tactics : The terrain was a bit like that of Fontenoy. But at Lawfeldt, it was the French who were in a basin with Maëstricht on the edge and Lawfeldt in the middle, a situation where Cumberland had been two years earlier between Barry and Fontenoy. Moreover, in accordance with the Anglo-French tactical tradition, firmly established since the Middle Ages, the French played the *offensive* role, and the English *defensive* static positions. The Anglo-Allied army held an extended position facing south. The day of July 1st was used to deploy the French army in its fighting positions: part of the infantry on the plateau of Herderen, supported by this village and that of Remst as strongpoints. The Infantry of the Clermont-Bourbon Corps massed in brigades in front of Lawfeld. The Cavalry of the left wing was in two lines, in front of the Infantry, below Herderen. The left wing, facing the Grand Commandery, rallied to the right wing, commanded by

Monsieur de Ségur, at the village of Montenaken which was occupied by an Infantry Brigade [two regiments]. The Carabinieri stood in support of the Cavalry of Ségur. On the extreme right, the Corps d'Estrées: Infantry, Cavalry, Light Troops. The French and Swiss Guards, the King's Household and the Gendarmerie were in tactical reserve behind the village of Herderen. The Duke of Cumberland, who commanded the Confederate Allied Army[327], was seeking to regain lost ground in this area. He wanted to inflict a decisive defeat on the French as a means to achieve his ends and win back some prestige. Seeing that the Army Corps of the Prince of Clermont was isolated from the French army; Cumberland decided to attack and defeat him separately. But the French army made its junction and transformed a victory assured for the English into another serious defeat. Several factors made this battle extremely bloody. First, the fact that England was then criticized by its continental allies (Dutch, Austrian, Germans…). If the English financed the war with their gold, it was mainly the Austrians and the Dutch who shed their blood. The English had only really fought in Flanders and with limited numbers, except at Fontenoy. The Austrians had everywhere made the main effort. In accordance with the English strategy *of balancing European power* in its favour"[328], the English occupied the French on the European continent, throwing the other allies against them and financing the war. Taking advantage of the fact that the French's hands were thus tied, they tried to seize their colonies. The other Allies ended up feeling that they were the dupes of London. To these accusations, the English replied that, without their subsidies, the other Allies would be incapable of anything. And everyone remembered the last war[329], during which Louis XIV had succeeded in buying the English

[327] In the Netherlands.
[328] The famous *Balance of Powers*.
[329] The War of the Spanish Succession. England had already abandoned Austria in the middle of the war, in 1493, when the French [Charles VIII] had bought Henry VII of England for 745,000 gold crowns; as well as in 1658, when Cromwell's England had abandoned Spain, also in the middle of the war, to obtain Dunkirk.

defection in the middle of the war. The ground on which this battle was to take place did not please the Maréchal de Saxe; but Louis XV, who prided himself, at the age of 37, on being a great man of war, decided to attack the Allies all the same. Louis XV was present at the battle, and this explains why this battle was even more terrible than the others. There was no question of suffering a setback in the presence of the King of France. Especially since a defeat would have put Louis XV's safety in jeopardy.

After conferring with the French Maréchal de Saxe, the King of France, Louis XV, decided to fight under the same conditions as at Rocoux, *i.e.* to attack the fortified villages head-on while the Army Corps of d'Estrées would hide Maëstricht and turn the Allied left wing by seizing its strongpoint, Wylre. Maréchal Maurice de Saxe had contributed to the development of commando or Corps-franc units in the French army. These were mixed troops composed of Dragoons [mounted troops but able to fight on foot] and Light Infantry; sometimes equipped with light artillery, depending on the mission. They took on the main attacks, the ambushes, the guerrillas, but also the counter-guerrilla and the security of the army on the move[330]. These units of francs-tireurs were called Les Grassins, the La Morlière and the Cantabres[331].

The action began at ten o'clock in the morning with the attack on Lawfeld, which was defended by the English, Hanoverian, Hessian infantry and by some Dutch regiments. Batteries, placed outside the village, took the French columns in flank. The Infantry Brigades of Monaco and La Fère, led by Lautrec and Laigle, attacked Lawfeld from the front. Béranger and Froulay attacked the left of this village with Ségur's brigade. The Bourbon Brigade protected the two batteries of 10 guns each with which the

[330] Whose essential missions were to prevent ambushes and to illuminate troops on the move.
[331] The first two Corps were named after the name of the leader who had formed them and the last according to its geographical origin [the Basque Country].

Chevalier de Gomer shelled the two flanks of Lawfeld. The first assault was repulsed. The brigades of Monaco, La Fère and Ségur withdrew in good order to Bourbon and gave a renewed assault, with Bourbon, which gained a foothold in the village. But the French were once again unable to hold on to Lawfeld, whose defenders were constantly being strengthened. The French Maréchal-de-Saxe, who himself directed the fight, brought Bettens and Monin into the line. The 6 Infantry Brigades undertook a third assault which, once again, gained a foothold in part of the village. Maurice de Saxe had brought in large-caliber cannons to breach the houses. The opening made, Clermont-Bourbon, at the head of the Brigade Royale, the Brigade-des-Vaisseaux, and the Irish Brigade, brought the other 6 brigades back to the frontline of fire, and gave a general assault on Lawfeld. At the end of this fierce and even ferocious battle, the French remained masters of the village.

The whole left of the Anglo-Allied Infantry then rushed forward in attacking columns, from the villages of Kistel, Rosmeer and Vlytingen, to counterattack and try to retake Lawfeld from the French. But in the meantime the French marshal sent into the flanks of these Anglo-Allied columns three French brigades [du Roy, de La-Tour-du-Pin, and d'Orleans. These brigades counterattacked with such ardor that the Allied offensive was halted after a furious four-hour combat, and aborted. This was the Anglo-Allied rout. Ségur's Cavalry pursued the retreating English Infantry across the bridges of Maeseyck, and, supported by the Carabinieri, scattered the English Cavalry who tried to cover the retreat. To prevent the Anglo-Allies from taking refuge in Maestricht, which was then in the hands of the Coalition, Monsieur d'Estrées had had Maastricht masked by the Grassins and the Cantabrians (another groupe-franc). He had also turned the Dutch left wing with his combined division of Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery, and had captured Wylre with relative ease. The battle was won in the center and on

the left for the French, but there remained the Right[332] which had been present at the battle without taking part in it. The King of France wished to attack them in person. He put himself at the head of the Elite Corps of the French army: the Gendarmerie, the French Guards, the Swiss Guards, and the Maison du Roy, and he marched on the Grand Commandery and Gros-Spauwen, while the Infantry and Cavalry of the French left wing marched on Rosmeer. But, in fact, Field Marshal Bathiany had followed the retreat movement and was already out of range of the French guns. The Cavalry took some prisoners in its rearguard. The Anglo-Allies thought themselves so unsafe at Maestricht and Maeseyck that they crossed the Meuse River throughout the night, abandoning more than 1,000 wagons in the fords, the horses of which had been drowned.

English sources : English, Dutch, Austrian, Hanoverian, and Hessian troops had occupied the small Belgian village of Lawfeldt. On July 2, 1747, on a hot and rainy day, the first French column attacked. It clashed with the entire Anglo-Allied army. It was 10:00 in the morning. Clermont, who led this first assault, was repulsed. Three vigorously conducted French assaults were powerless to break the English entrenchments firmly established in the village of Lawfeldt and in the neighbouring hedges, while the driving rain lashed the faces of the French and turned the ground into a quagmire. The battle continued, fierce, appalling. The fourth French charge gained a foothold in the hedges bordering the village, on the left. It was then that the Duke of Cumberland counter-attacked with fresh troops and almost succeeded in dislodging the French. By a sudden inspiration which was not lacking in courage, the French Maréchal de Saxe put his sword in his hand and dragged to the right the Régiment du Roy and the Brigade Salières. This unexpected movement disconcerted the English, who, hearing fire behind them in the village, thought they had been bypassed, and

[332] Austrian.

began to retreat and flee. Two brigades of artillery, which had followed the French attack, formed a large battery and amplified the confusion and panic in the English ranks. It was then that the Maréchal de Saxe, renewing the charge of the Maison-du-Roy [King's Household] at Fontenoy, launched in the assault the Marquis de Bellefonds' squadrons of cavalry. These two brigades of French Cavalry completed the annihilation. Encouraged by the Maréchal de Saxe who shouted: "***Go foraging, my children***[333]!" The cavalry hacked with their sabres a gap of 2,000 paces in the English ranks. Two French squadrons rushed there. Whole files of Englishmen were crushed under the horses. The two French squadrons disappeared forever in this adventure. They were exterminated. The soldiers passed but did not return. At last, the whole edge of the village was occupied, under a hellish fire, with frightful cries. The English front was definitively dislocated. Lawfeld was swept away by the French fury, and Cumberland ordered a retreat. At 3:00 p.m., Lawfeld was in French hands. The plain all around, and the village were covered with 10,000 dead and wounded.

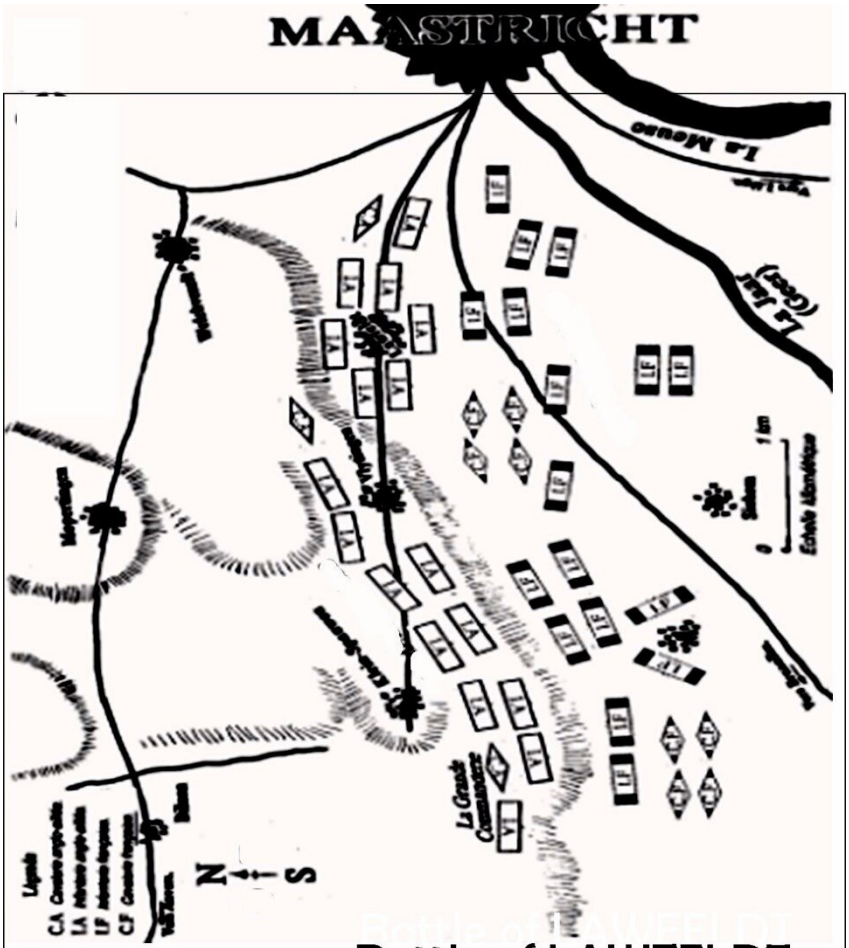
Casualties ♦4,800 French were killed or wounded, as well as 6,000 Anglo-Allies. Lord Ligonier, who commanded the English Cavalry, was himself taken prisoner by the French.

Consequence of this Anglo-Allied defeat : This victory blocked Allied operations on the Meuse for the rest of the campaign. Lawfeldt's victory was not exploited because of the joy of success. The French, for their part, went to seize Bergen-op-Zoom. In England the discouragement was immense because the English troops had

[333] From the end of the fourteenth century, forrager meant "to make fodder" and then "to plunder". The military "foragers" would steal the enemy's fodder in order to starve their animals and, thus, neutralize his cavalry, artillery and transports. The "foragers" were elite troops specializing in daring coups de main; like today's commandos. To *go to forage*, therefore, meant to assault a convoy of fodder or, by extension, of supplies, or any other surprise attack by a small number of elite men. During the First World War, the French created "la fourragère", intended to decorate valiant regiments. It symbolized the rope used to bind bales of fodder.

been beaten throughout this campaign, even though the Battle of Dettingen had been falsely presented as a victory, because the King of England had managed to run away and not be captured by the French.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦ *William, Edward Hartpole Lecky,* ***A History of England in the Eighteenth Century****, Second Edition, Volume 1, Longmans, Green and Co, London, 1879.* ♦*Acte royal du 2 juillet 1747 de Louis XV, roi de France, au camp de la Commanderie du VieuxJonc; Lettre... à Mgr. l'évêque comte de Toul [pour faire chanter le Te Deum en action de grâces de la victoire et des autres avantages remportés par l'armée du Roi dans les PaysBas], Imprimerie de L. et E. Rolin, Toul,1747.* ♦*Andrew Henderson, The Life of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, J. Ridley: London, 1766.* ♦**Relation de la campagne en Brabant et en Flandres, de l'an *MDCCXLVII*, Avec** les plans de la bataille de Lawfeld, & de l'attaque de la ville de Berg***opZoom, La Haye, 1748.*** ♦***P. Brookes,*** *A new plan of the town and fortifications of BergenopZoom with the adjacent forts, facing Southampton Street in the Strand, M. Overton, over against Fetter Lane, Fleet Street****, non daté, probablement1747?.*** ♦***Dumoulin,*** *Réflexions sur les environs de Maëstricht ou mémoires instructifs sur les campagnes de 1747 et 1748 qui prouvent évidemment que la bataille de Lawffelt n'est venue que par les mouvemens déplacés des deux partis . Journal du siège de Bergop. Zoom, avec des réflexions militaires****, Imprimerie de Grangé, Paris, 1756. 2 tomes.*** ♦***Bompart de Saint Victor,*** *La Bataille de Lauffeldt,* ***ode, ClermontFerrand, 1748.***



Battle of LAWFELDT

Battle of L'Orient.

Other name: Current city of Lorien, Britany, France.

Date of the action: 22 - 30 September 1746.

Location: Today Lorient, Port of Brittany. Geographical coordinates: 47°45' north latitude, and 03°22' west longitude.

Context: In September 1746, a secret expedition was planned in England against New France. The expeditionary forces embarked at Portsmouth, bound for Cape Breton Island in Acadia [present-day Canada], but twice adverse weather forced the squadron back to port. Under pressure from English Lobbies —and above all from the British East India Company which wanted to ruin the French East India Company— the objective of the expedition was then shifted to the French port of L'Orient. Indeed, this port had been established as the principal base of the French East India Company, and its warehouses were reputed to contain immense riches.

Chiefs : ♦The British Expeditionary Force was under the command of General Synclair[334]. Admiral Lestock commanded the squadron.

Troops engaged ♦*English*: An army of 8 to 10,000 professional soldiers was embarked on board the squadron. Admiral Lestock commanded a squadron of 16 warships, including the large PRINCESS [74 guns, Captain John Cockburn] and EDINBURGH [70

[334] Spelling of the time, or Saint-Clair today.

guns, Captain Thomas Cotes] , and followed by 30 troop transports. The squadron was armed with an impressive total of 669 guns. The British Expeditionary Force consisted of 6 battalions of Infantry, drawn from the 1st, 15th, 28th, 30th, 39th, 42nd Foot Regiments. ♦*French*: 5,000 French militiamen and peasants. The militias of the region and bands of peasants, armed and strongly motivated by the defense of their subsistence goods, arrived with pitchforks and, against all odds, re-embarked the Expeditionary Force with its booty: cows, pigs and poultry.

Strategy or Tactics: This operation, which was intended to be a diversion against the French, was one, but, paradoxically, against the English themselves. For these troops would certainly have been most useful in Flanders or America, according to the opinion of the English military historian Fortescue. The port of L'Orient was flourishing thanks to trade with the East Indies. The harbor was large and safe, easy to access and deep enough to accommodate the largest boats. Espionage had an impact, here, in the defeat of the British Expeditionary Force: the French had been informed of the departure of the English squadron from England[335].

Summary of the action : On 17 September, a spy announced to the French the departure from the ports of England of a fleet of 54 sail commanded by Admiral Lestock. On the 19th, the squadron dropped anchor off the Bay of Quimberlé on the Isolle, 20 km north of L'Orient. The Expeditionary Force immediately prepared to disembark. The landing was carried out in spite of a troop of 2,000 peasants and militiamen hastily mobilized to thwart the plans of the British. The English army, with its artillery, occupied the

[335] All military theorists, Chinese, Greek, Latin or European, naturally attach immense importance to the Intelligence Services. Chia Lin wrote, "An army without a secret agent is just like a man without eyes or ears." Sun Tzu: "Secret operations are essential in war; it is on them that the army relies on to carry out each of its movements. The French informants were often Irishmen or Scots forced to fight for England.

sector in front of the town of Guidel. Then it placed itself in two columns and marched towards the East, setting fire to the isolated farms. From time to time, peasants retaliated by firing a few shots furiously at the English, sometimes killing a soldier. When evening came, the English seized the undefended castle of Coëdor. Synclair marched on Ploemeur and left 1,500 men well entrenched at Le Pouldu to protect his retreat. On the 22nd, the English army arrived in front of L'Orient. Synclair sent an English officer to summon that city to capitulate. The inhabitants refused, knowing what awaited them: killing, rape and looting. Negotiations began, but the conditions of the French garrison[336] being considered unacceptable by the English, the siege began immediately [on the 24th], as soon as the negotiations were over. A battery of mortars and two large batteries of 12 guns, which had been prepared during the negotiations, immediately went into action. On the 28th, the French garrison made several *sorties* intended to neutralize the artillery bombardment. The French momentarily achieved their goals, but the initial intensity quickly resumed. In the evening, the shelling, which had caused great damage in the city, ceased. General Synclair then decided that he did not have sufficient forces to storm the city. Smollett[337] thought that time and artillery were lacking for such an undertaking, although the engineers had promised that they could reduce the whole city to ashes in twenty-four hours. In fact, all of his guns were small-caliber field guns, not the big siege guns, and Synclair had to wait for two large iron guns that the sailors were painstakingly transferring from their ships. Had they assaulted on the first night, when the city was filled with panic and confusion and devoid of professional troops, the English could have taken it by simple climbing. But... The French had hoisted cannons taken from the ships of the port to the top of the ramparts. They inflicted heavy casualties on the besiegers. New works were

[336] As far as respect for people and property was concerned.
[337] Tobias Smollett, *A Complete History of England*, Printed for James Rivington, James Fletcher and R. Baldwin, London, 1758.

built, and regular troops were now reinforcing the local militiamen. In fact, the more time passed, the more the French troops concentrated on throwing the English back into the sea. Admiral Lestock also sent repeated and urgent messages, claiming that he could no longer expose his squadron to the elements, because the season was advancing. Finally, on hearing that French troops were arriving, General Synclair lifted the siege, and the British Expeditionary Force retreated to the coast and hurriedly re-embarked, abandoning their heavy mortars after nailing them, as well as the two large naval guns brought in with so much difficulty. The English re-embarked from the 8th to the 9th, and the rearguard from the 9th to the 10th, after having burned, in revenge for their failure, the farms around Nantes.

Casualties ♦Fairly heavy on both sides.

The consequence of this English defeat: The suffering of the English troops had led nowhere. For the French, L'Orient was saved but the English admiral, who did not want to remain a complete failure, immediately headed for the islets of Houat and Hoëdic to ravage them. Defeated by the strong, they took revenge on the weak.

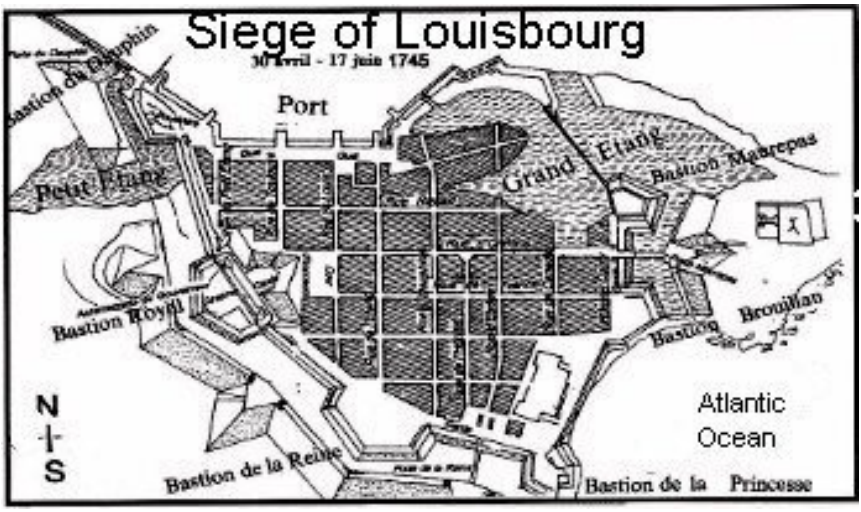
SOURCES & READINGS ♦Tobias Smollett, *A Complete History of England*, Printed for James Rivington, James Fletcher and R. Baldwin, London, 1758. ♦Paul René Yves Marie Diverrès, *L'Attaque de* **Lorient par les Anglais, 1746**, Rennes, 1931. ♦Eugène Mancel, **Chronique lorientaise; origine de la ville de Lorient, son histoire et son avenir**, Gousset, Lorient, 1861. ♦Charles Bourgouin, **Descente des Anglais en Bretagne et siège de Lorient en 1746,** Extrait du Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Nantes, Nantes, 1871. ♦Geneviève Beauchesne, Historique de la construction navale à Lorient de 1666 à 1770, Service historique de la Marine, Vincennes, 1980. ♦François Jégou, **Lorient, arsenal royal**, BergerLevrault et Cie., Paris, 18781882.

A close-up of Lorient in its early days, in 1746. The port is located on the right bank of the Scorff River at its confluence with the Blavet River, in Brittany (Morbihan department). The medieval hamlet of Blavet took the name Port-Louis when Louis XIII decided to build a fortress there. In 1664, Louis XIV authorized a trading company, the East India Company, to establish itself on this site, and the town was named L'Orient after the company's name and its objectives. Later, Louis XVI bought the port to create an arsenal. The Germans built a formidable submarine base there during World War II. As a result, the town was completely destroyed by Allied bombing. *Lorient Municipal Archives.*

Siege of Louisbourg.

Date of the action: 30 April to 7 June 1745.

Location: Cape Breton Island, Canada. Geographical coordinate : 45° 55' north latitude, and 59° 58' west longitude.



Conflict: War of the Austrian Succession [1740-1748]. King George's War in America.

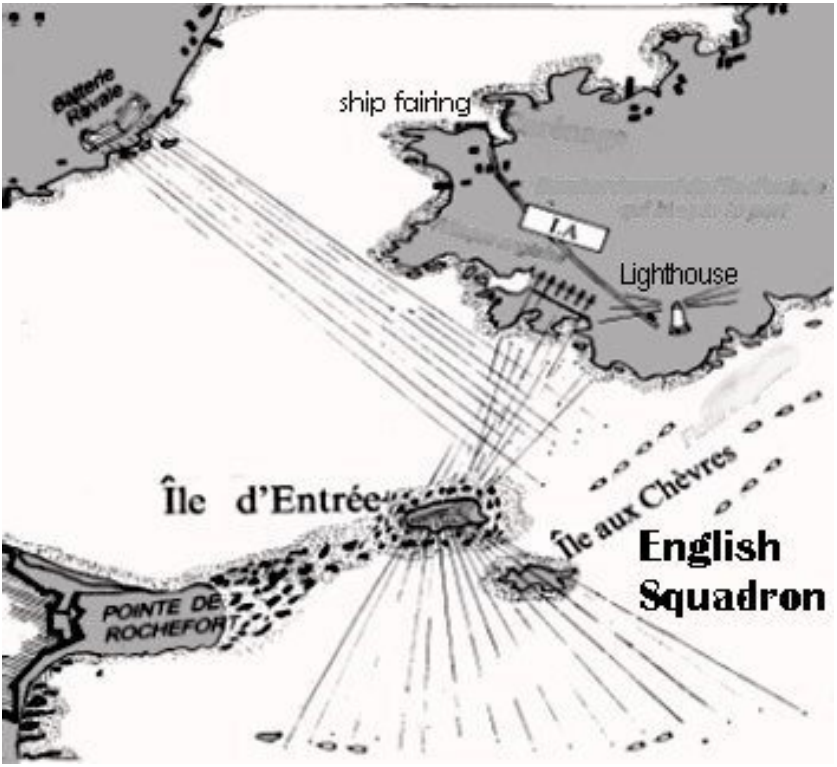
Background: In September 1713, a French expedition regained possession of Cape Breton Island, which was restored to its former name of Île-Royale. The name of the port called Le Hâvre-à-l'Anglais was changed to that of Louisbourg. Its governor was

Costebelle, transferred from Newfoundland. His lieutenant Saint-Ovide de Brouillan[338]. The chief engineer was L'Hermite. War broke out in Europe in 1741 and in America in the spring of 1744. Louisbourg's sailors captured Canso, and his privateers successfully attacked the English merchant ships. They also made an expedition against Annapolis Royal in Acadia[339], a military post commanded by Major Paul Mascarène, a French Huguenot in the service of the English. The port of Louisbourg was well known to Boston merchants who had an active trade with that city. Governor Duquesnel of Louisbourg learned of the declaration of war seven days before Boston. He immediately took advantage of the surprise to send a small fleet to occupy Canso [Canso], a fishing center on an island off the Acadian coast, 75 km from Louisbourg. The garrison of 80 English soldiers was captured by the French. Under the terms of the capitulation, the English were to spend a year at Louisbourg before being released, but Duquesnel had too many mouths to feed and sent them back to Boston. This rash decision allowed the prisoners to observe the fortress: Louisbourg lacked provisions and ammunition; the soldiers were mostly Swiss mercenaries, and they had not been paid for a very long time; Suffice to say that they did not want *to fight for nothing* and that mutiny was brewing. This was what the English prisoners told the Bostonians when they arrived in Boston.

In addition, Duquesnel suffered a personal failure on his next attack. He tried to capture the capital of Acadia: Annapolis Royal, but his small garrison of 100 soldiers, commanded by Major Paul Mascarène, protected by good walls, resisted for 3 weeks, so that Duquesnel returned empty-handed to Louisbourg. As can be seen, the entrance to Louisbourg Harbor was impossible to force

[338] He became governor after Costebelle.
[339] Former Port-Royal d'Acadie des Français.

by a direct assault by the Royal Navy; if, at least, the Royal Battery had its garrison.



Anglo-American Commanders ♦*English* : The fleet was commanded by Commodore Peter Warren, and the soldiers by Colonel William Pepperell. ♦*French*: Governor Duchambon[340], who replaced Duquesnel.

[340] François-Charles de Bourlamaque Duchambon de Vergor (often simply called **Vergor**) was a French colonial officer in New France, remembered mainly for his bad role in two dramatic episodes of Canadian history: Fort Beauséjour in 1755 and L'Anse-au-Foulon in 1759.

Forces ♦*Anglo-American*: The fleet of 100 transport ships of all tonnages and 10 English warships from the West Indies carried 4,000 American colonials from Massachusetts. ♦*French*: 560 Swiss regulars half-mutinied for late pay, and 1,400 local Acadian militiamen.

Strategy or Tactics : The fortifications of this French fortress, begun in 1720, were almost finished 11 years later, in 1731, according to Monsieur de Saint-Ovide. In fact, it was far from it. Lack of credit had not made it possible to complete the walls. Inside, the soldiers' barracks were still temporary and the artillery armament well below what had been planned. On the other hand [noblesse oblige!], the governor's palace, built of dressed stone imported from France by boat, already stood proudly! Strategically speaking, the Fortress of Louisbourg was a direct threat to Nova Scotia [341], and to the trade of the Thirteen Colonies, including the six New England colonies.

Tactically, the attack was amphibious. The Royal Battery was the keystone of the defense; yet, incredibly, the incompetent Duchambon had left it without a garrison. In 23 days of siege, the English installed 5 batteries. The English batteries advanced to within 200 meters from the western gates. The fire from the batteries was concentrated on the citadel and the western port: considerable damage. The French kept themselves solely on the defensive, whereas a few sorties might have driven back these inexperienced enemies.

Summary of the action: The English fleet arrived in Gabarus Bay on April 30, 1745, just after reoccupying the port of Canso where

[341] Former French Acadia, now English, ceded to England with Dunkirk, Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay to buy the defection of England, which broke with its allies during the War of the Spanish Succession. Acadia had been occupied militarily by the English, but Louis XIV did not attempt to exchange it for another territory.

Warren remained for 3 weeks awaiting the ice break-up. The English landed at *L'Anse-à-l'Eau-Fraîche*. A detachment of 75 Frenchmen, commanded by the privateer Morpain, was sent by Governor Duchambon to oppose it. In the fortress, the largest disorder reigned. Duquesne[342] had died in the meantime and had been replaced by the ineffectual Duchambon de Vergor. In addition, the 560 Swiss mercenaries had finally mutinied and no one knew if the 1,400 local militiamen could be counted on. 5 km west of Louisbourg, in Gabarus Bay, there was a promontory called *Pointe Plate*. 3km further in the bay; the coast formed a creek called L'Anse-à-l'Eau-Fraîche.

On the morning of April 30, the English began to land. They first sent several assault barges to establish a bridgehead. Duchambon guarded the shore with 24 regulars and 50 militia; When 6 English barges headed for the coast, he rushed to the presumed landing sector, despite the numerical superiority of the attackers. But the English arrived first at the beach, landed, lined up and greeted the French with a discharge that killed six of them. They captured six more, and the rest of the French detachment embarked on a mad dash towards Louisbourg. The English had only two wounded. The great landing began. Between the English and the fortress, the ground seemed *more or less* flat despite some rocky drops. Colonel William Vaughn took 400 men and went out to reconnoitre a wooded area behind the *Batterie Royale*. There, he discovered warehouses full of military equipment. He set them on fire. At the next dawn, he noticed that the French flag had not been lowered for the night. Fearing a ruse, he intoxicated an allied Indian with rum and sent him to see what was going on. The latter passed through an embrasure of the battery and found... the deserted fortification. Vaughn and his men immediately took

possession of the Batterie Royale. The unconscious Duchambon[343] had left this battery unoccupied[344] and had not even destroyed the guns and ammunition. Realizing his irreparable mistake when he learned that the battery was in the hands of the Yankees[345], Duchambon sent 4 barges of soldiers to retake the battery, but English reinforcements prevented this attempt from succeeding. The battery became the first link in the British blockade lines. The English landed their artillery in flat-made barges. In spite of their efforts, some cannons were hurled against the rocks, some others remained mired in the marshes because they had been landed in a marshy place. Finally, the English colonel Nathaniel Meserve (from a Huguenot family) had wooden racks built 5 meters long for the gun trains. Each was dragged by 200 volunteers. To avoid a bombardment, the British worked at night[346]. In 4 nights, they formed their first battery of 6 guns.

Every night or on foggy days, they landed guns until 5 batteries were in a semicircle around the fortress of Louisbourg. The last battery was made up of cannons taken from the Batterie Royale; 300 men were harnessed to each of them. Every night the semicircle of batteries closed under the fire of the French muskets which killed many Englishmen. Frontenac is said to have made a bayonet sortie, but the incompetent Duchambon remained completely inactive, leaving the English to act as they pleased[347]. The latter installed a battery near the lighthouse to the east of the port, directed against the Batterie de l'Île d'entrée. The English put double or even triple charge of powder on their guns and many artillerymen were killed by the explosion of their guns. Meanwhile, the Batterie de

[343] Louis Dupont Duchambon de Vergor, officer in the colonial regular troops, king's lieutenant and merchant, baptized on 1 January 1680 at Sérignac (dept. of Charente, France), sixth son of Hugues Du Pont Duvivier and Marie Hérauld de Gourville)
[344] A veritable Achilles heel of the defence system.
[345] "Yankee is the word "Anglais" (Englishman) as pronounced by the Indians when speaking French.
[346] In any case, earthworks were almost always carried out at night, during sieges.
[347] He was court-martialed in France after 1763 but was saved by his aristocratic family.

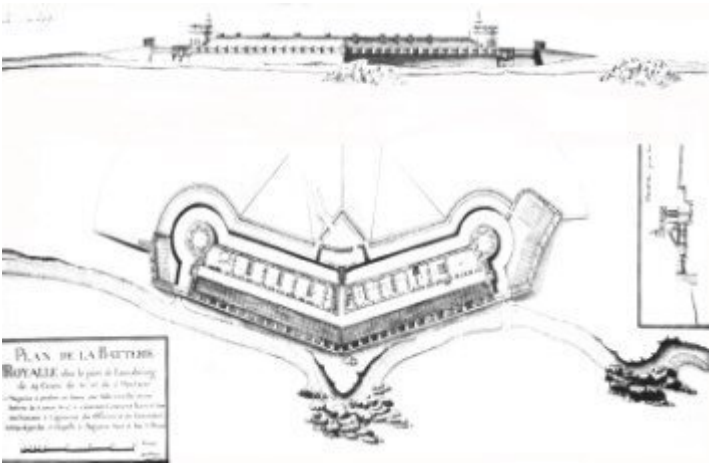
l'Île [30 guns, 2 mortars and 7 scree[348]] and its garrison barred the road to the port for the English fleet under Commodore Warren. Pepperell sent 300 commandos one night [May 26] with the mission of seizing the island by coup de main. The French waited until the landing had begun and covered the English with such murderous fire that the sailors and soldiers who were still on the barges turned back by force of oars, abandoning the landed under French fire. By daybreak, 70 Englishmen had been killed and 119 taken prisoner. Shortly after this success, the hopes of the French vanished. The ship Le VIGILANT [64 guns], coming from France with a reinforcement of 560 soldiers, equipment and ammunition on board, was captured on the high seas by the English squadron. This was the last straw. The inhabitants of the city, ruined by 9,000 cannonballs, came in a delegation to implore Governor Duchambon to capitulate. Considering that the powder magazines of the fortress and the *Batterie de l'Île* were at the end of their stocks of powder and ammunition, and that, on the other hand, his garrison of mercenaries was on the verge of mutiny, the governor had the white flag hoisted on 15 June 1745. Pepperell allowed the garrison, which had, in spite of everything, fought courageously despite Duchambon's pitiful command, to leave with *the Honours of War.*

Very heavy ***Casualties*** ♦, especially on the English side.

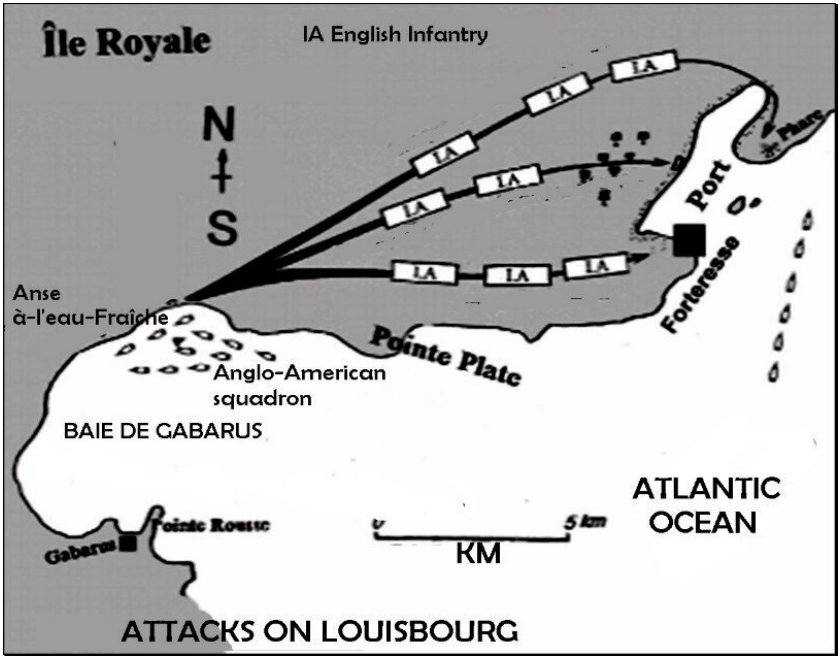
As a result of this French defeat , the French lost a very important strategic stronghold in North America. The property of the inhabitants was plundered by the English despite Peppe Rell's promise to respect private property. In 1748, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, France demanded that the fortress of Louisbourg be returned to the French.

[348] *Scree*: Small anti-personnel guns firing all kinds of shot and even stones.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Monsieur de La Valière, capitaine des troupes de l'Isle Royale, **Rapport des événements de Chignectou et d'autres parties des frontières de l'Acadie, du 15 septembre 1750 au 28 juillet 1751.** Archives des Rapports, 1905. Vol.II. ♦Raymond F. Baker, **Une campagne d'amateurs : le siège de Louisbourg, 1745,** Patrimoine canadien, Parcs Canada, Ottawa, 1978, révisé en 1995. ♦George M. Wrong, **Louisbourg in 1745; the anonymous Lettre d'un habitant de Louisbourg containing a narrative by an eyewitness of the siege in 1745**, Warwick Bro's & Rutter, Toronto, 1897. ♦Fairfax Davis Downey, **Louisburg, key to a continent**, PrenticeHall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 1965. ♦James Otis, **The boys of 1745 at the capture of Louisbourg**, Estes & Lauriat, Boston, 1895. ♦William Charles Henry Wood, **The great fortress : a chronicle of Louisbourg, 17201760**, R. Brook, Toronto-Glasgow, 1915. ♦Joseph Plimsoll Edwards, **Louisbourg, an historical sketch,** Nova Scotia Print, Halifax, N.S., 1895. ♦Katharine McLennan, **Parc historique national de la forteresse de Louisbourg,** Service des parcs nationaux et des lieux historiques, Ministère des ressources et du développement économique, Ottawa, 1950. ♦Bona Arsenault, **Louisbourg, 17131758,** Conseil de la Vie française en Amérique, Québec, non daté, vraisemblablement 1971.



The Batterie Royale was the keystone of the defense. Yet, incredibly, the incompetent French commander, appointed to this post out of favoritism, had left it without the slightest garrison. Priv. Coll.


Île Royale
IA English Infantry
N
S
IA
Port
Place
Forteresse
Anse
à-l'eau-Fraîche
Pointe Plate
Anglo-American
squadron
BAIE DE GABARUS
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Pointe Rousse
Gabarus
5 km
KM
ATTACKS ON LOUISBOURG

Siege of Madras.

Date of the action : 15 - 21 September 1746.

Location : Capital of the British Indies, on the Coromandel Coast. Today Chennai. Geographical coordinates: 11°00' north latitude and 78°15' east longitude[349].

Conflict : War of the Austrian Succession [17401748]. Theatre of operations in the Far East. Campaign in the East Indies.

Context : On 29 August, La Bourdonnais' squadron, commanded by La Porte-Barré, which was sailing along the coast, captured two English ships in the roadstead of Madras. Then the French returned to Pondicherry. On the 12th, the French squadron sailed for Madras. Until then, the English governor of Madras had hoped that Commodore Peyton would protect this English settlement. But this hope had been disappointed when he heard two pieces of news; the *first* announced that the French were coming, and the *second* that Peyton's English squadron had been sighted on September 3 off Paliacate[350], sailing in the direction of Bengal. "*A damaged ship of 60 guns served as a pretext for Peyton to leave Madras, and as an excuse to avoid a battle with La Bourdonnais' squadron*[351]." However, a month after Madras had fallen into French hands, the sea

[349] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.
[350] The "city of Paliacate" or Pulicat refers to Pazhaverkadu, a coastal town in Tamil Nadu, India, 40km north of Chennai (Madras), which gave its name to the paliacate, a type of colorful Mexican bandana. The term "Paliacate" originated from the Paliacate textile trade, with the scarves reaching Mexico via the Spanish galleon trade with the Philippines.
[351] Wrote the English Historian Robert Orme (17281801), official historian of the British East India Company, born in India in 1728.

was to avenge this English defeat. Indeed, during the night of October 13th to 14th, 1746, a hurricane rose in the Indian Ocean. It lasted on the 14th, 15th, and 16th, and did not cease until the 17th of October. Eight French ships were anchored in Madras to load the booty taken from the city. The ACHILLE, the only French ship of any importance in these places, lost two of her masts and had to throw 16 of her precious large 18-pounder guns overboard. The NEPTUNE, completely dismasted, threw in 14 12-pounder guns, and took on 1.3 meter of water. All the cargoes were destroyed. The BOURBON lost her mainmast and foremast, and had to drop 14 of her guns. It was too damaged to go to sea again. The PHOENIX was lost entirely; The DUC-D'ORLÉANS too, except for 8 of his crewmen. The PRINCESS-MARIE was dismasted and embarked nearly two meters of water. The MARIE-GERTRUDE and the ADVICE[352] also sank. 1,200 French sailors perished as well as 60 Englishmen from the former garrison of Madras who were prisoners on board the DUC D'ORLÉANS.

Chiefs ♦*French*: Bertrand François Mahé de La Bourdonnais [1699-1753]. ♦*English*: The English governor of Madras from 1744 to 1746 was Mr. Nicholas Morse.

Forces ♦*French*: about 2,500 French soldiers landed, of whom approximately 1,500 were Europeans. ♦*English*: the English garrison numbered 300 men, to which were added the local, European and Indian militias [5 or 6,000 men].

Strategy or Tactics : The possession of the Mascarene archipelago[353] halfway [or almost halfway] between France and the Indies, gave France a great advantage. These islands served as arsenals, bases of departure and refuge, because a French squadron could

[352] English catches.
[353] The archipelago includes Île de France [Mauritius], Bourbon Island [Reunion Island] and Rodrigues Island.

land there safely. Isolated ships concentrated there in order to form convoys that were easier to escort and protect.

Tactical situation at the time of the siege of Madras.

Fort Saint-George, and the town of Madras which he defended, had been built on a piece of land ceded to the English in 1639 by the last Hindu chief of Bijanugger. Fourteen years later, the small establishment had become a presidency. Yet, although it was the main English center in India, Madras was not well situated. Exposed to the full force of the monsoon, the currents were always violent, and the surf (breaking waves) made navigation dangerous. During the monsoon, ships were forced to weigh anchor or reach the open sea at the slightest breeze. The only advantage of this establishment, in the eyes of Mr. Day, who negotiated the cession of this territory, came from its proximity to the Portuguese territory of Saint-Thomé. Fort St.George outlined an oblong figure, 360 meters by 90 meters, surrounded by a thin wall flanked by four bastions and four batteries.

Summary of the action : On September 14th, 18 kilometers south of Madras, La Bourdonnais landed 500 to 600 men with two guns. Sailing slowly, parallel to his disembarked troops, he arrived on the 15th at noon within cannon range of the City of Madras. He then landed 1,100 Europeans, 400 Sepoys and 400 Cafres[354] and sent a summons to the English. There were then 1,700 or 1,800 men left on board the ships. Fort St. George was the fortress of Madras. This fort had a garrison of 300 soldiers. Governor Morse asked the nawab of Carnatic to put pressure on the French to spare Madras. But

[354] Dans les documents britanniques du XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, on retrouve l'appellation *de "black Portuguese" ou Cafres ou "Coffree"* (dérivé de l'arabe *kafir, mécréant*), utilisée pour qualifier des marins et soldats d'origine africaine employés dans les comptoirs et garnisons. La Cafrerie est la zone côtière orientale sud de l'Afrique. Les cafres étaient vraisemblablement des esclaves non payés. Les Portugais, premiers colonisateurs de l'Afrique, avaient créé une véritable population métissée, les De Souza.

the Englishman, more miserly, sent his message without the traditional introductory gifts that were an integral part of the local rules of etiquette. His gesture was considered a serious rudeness; so, the Nabob did not interfere. On the afternoon of September 15th, and on the 16th, the French erected their siege batteries. On the 17th, the British made a sortie to try to destroy the breach batteries. The French counterattacked, repulsed the sortie, seized the house of Governor Morse[355] within musket range of the city walls, and entrenched themselves there. The English garrison of this outpost was taken prisoner. Early in the morning of 18th September, French land batteries went into action on the city. At night, the batteries on board the three most powerful French ships also opened fire. On the evening of the 19th of September, La Bourdonnais received a letter from Madame Barneval, daughter of Madame Dupleix, and married to an English gentleman of Madras, offering a treaty on behalf of Governor Morse. La Bourdonnais accepted, and on the morning of the 20th of September two English emissaries arrived: Monson and Hallyburton. They came to offer the French chief a very large sum of money to break off the siege. Insulted by such audacity, La Bourdonnais haughtily refused. The bombing resumed until 3:00 p.m. and then stopped until 8:00 p.m. At this point, the land and naval bombardment resumed with intensity and lasted all night. On the morning of September 21st, British plenipotentiaries —ready to capitulate— reappeared and the bombardment ceased. The clauses of the capitulation signed by the English governor at the time required the surrender to the French at 2:00 p.m. on the same day: **1)** Fort St. George and the city of Madras with their dependencies. **2)** The entire garrison and in general all the English in the city were declared prisoners of war. **3)** All employees of the British East India Company were paroled and could remain in the East or return to England, provided they did not bear arms against France until the end of the present war; this was the

[355] Which served as a fortified outpost.

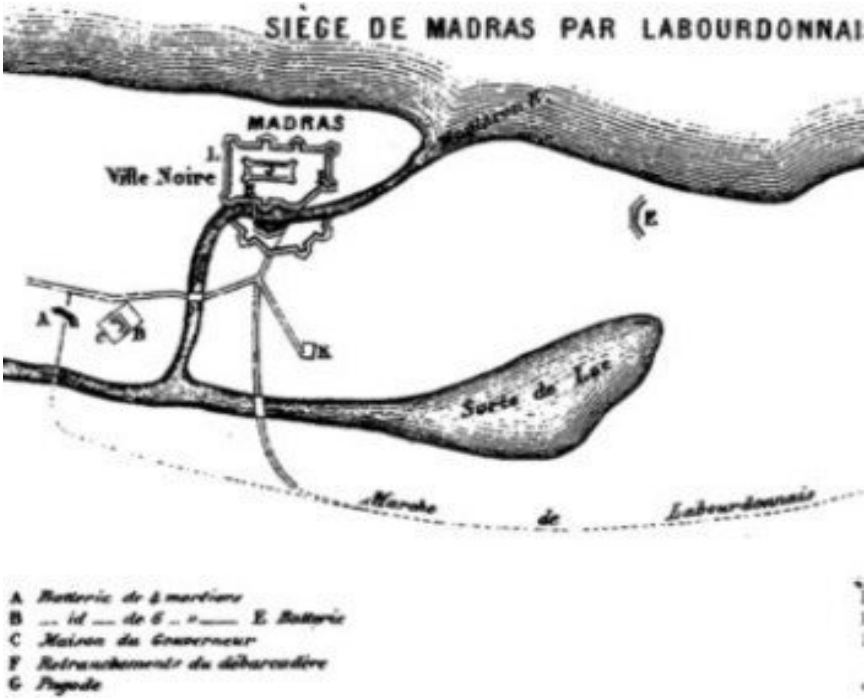
object of their word of honor. **4)** All the assets of the B.E.I.C. passed to France. **5)** All the Royal Navy's logistical stocks were confiscated by the Marine Royale.

Casualties : ♦7 English were killed during this siege. No French.

As a result of this English defeat , the governor of the French East Indies, Dupleix, placed d'Esprémenil as the French governor of Madras with a small garrison of 500 French soldiers and 600 sepoys. The English were left with only Fort St. David in the South Indies. Since the fortress of Louisbourg in New France had been captured by the Anglo-Americans in June 1745, Madras was used as a bargaining chip in 1748 [Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle]. News of the exchange reached Madras early in 1749. It plunged Dupleix and the French of Madras into consternation. The English in New England were themselves greatly affected by the return of Louisbourg to France.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING : ♦Robert Orme, History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year MDCCXLV**. London, for John Nourse, 1778 1780. ♦Colonel G.B. Malleson CSI,** History of the French in India**, John Grant, Édimbourg, 1909. ♦Gabriel JouveauDubreuil,** *Dupleix; ou, L'Inde conquise***, Librarie** d'Amérique et d'Orient, Paris, 1942. **♦John Charpentier,** *Dupleix et l'empire des Indes***, Mame, Tours, 1937. ♦Pierre de Vaissière,** Dupleix**, Plon, Paris, 1931. Toussaint,** Histoire des îles Mascareignes**, BergerLevrault, Paris, 1972. ♦Robert Orme,** Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Morattoes and of the English concerns in Indostan from the year XDCLIX**, Wingrave, Londres, 1805.**

Situation tactique au moment du siège de Madras.



Siege of Maestricht.

Date of the action: 15 April - 4 May 1748.

Location: Maastricht, Maëstricht, Netherlands. Geographical co-ordinates: 50° 52' north latitude, and 05° 43' east longitude. [See the toponymic map of Flanders located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend, from 10 to 23 August 1745]

Context: The war was particularly raging in the Southern Netherlands[356] which everyone wanted to appropriate, the French to use it as a glacis of the "Fortress France", the Dutch as a buffer between the Netherlands and France, and the English, to add it to the Duke of Cumberland's patrimony. But the French absolutely did not want to see such intriguing and factious enemies on their doorstep. He had the French troops execute a series of contradictory moves that baffled the Anglo-Allied strategists. On April 15, Maestricht was besieged. The trench was opened but the city capitulated before the final and general assault, which avoided the looting, murder and rape, so feared by the population, and tolerated by the cruel military tradition of the time in the event of a final assault.

Army Chiefs ♦*French*: Maurice de Saxe[357]; Maréchal de Lowendal. ♦*English*: The Duke of Cumberland[358].

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[356] Known as *Austrian Lower Countries* from 1714, or *Spanish Lower Countries* before that: Belgium today.

[357] Maurice de Saxe was born on 28 October 1696 in Goslar (Saxony). He died on 30 November 1750 in Chambord (France). He was the adulterous son of Maria Aurora, Countess of Königsmark, and the Elector of Saxony, Frederick Augustus I. A mausoleum to the Maréchal de Saxe was erected after 1771 in the choir of the Saint-Thomas temple in Strasbourg. It is a work by Jean-Baptiste Pigalle. Maurice de Saxe was the great-grandfather of Aurore Dupin (1804–1876), whose pen-name was George Sand

[358] Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (15 April 1721 – 31 October 1765) was a member of the British royal family. He was the sixth child and third son of King George II of Great Britain

Troops engaged ♦27,000 Anglo-Allies defended the city.

Strategy or Tactics: By his threatening movements, Marshal Maurice de Saxe forced the Allies to evacuate Tienen, Sint-Truiden, Tongeren and Bilsen, where they had their quarters, to cross the Meuse and thus leave him free to besiege Maestricht. Taking advantage of the fact that his troops were in their winter quarters, the French Maréchal de Saxe planned the campaign of 1748 and Maestricht. On March 20, 1748, he was staying in Brussels.

This siege of Maëstricht followed the *12 poliorcetic steps*[359] carefully established by Vauban during the first siege of Maëstricht in 1673, in order to reduce human casualties. The

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and Margravine Caroline of Brandenburg Ansbach. He was a great British military leader despite the fact that he suffered many military humiliations at the hands of the French. After the Culloden massacres, he was nicknamed the Butcher of the Scots.

[359] With the exception of the final assault. Mémoire pour servir à l'instruction dans la conduite des sièges, Vauban, **Typical Stages in a Vauban-Style Siege:** Vauban's method emphasized economy of force, minimizing casualties, and the systematic use of fortification, trenches, and artillery. The broad phases are: 1-**Reconnaissance / Survey.** The besiegers examine the enemy fortifications, ground features, approaches, fields of fire, fort strength, weak points, relief possibilities, water supply, etc. 2-**Encirclement / Investment.** Establishment of a **circumvallation** and sometimes a **contravallation** line to prevent sorties and relief forces from intervening. 3-**Establishing First Parallel (or First Trench Line)** Digging a trench line (parallel) at a distance beyond effective enemy fire but from which approach trenches (saps) can begin. 4-**Advancing Approach Trenches / Saps.** From the first parallel, "zig-zag" saps (approach trenches) are extended toward the fortification to bring attackers closer under cover. 5-**Establishing Secondary (and further) Parallels.** Additional parallel lines are dug progressively closer to the fortress; these serve as protected lines to move men, artillery, and supplies, and to support the forward trenches. 6-**Constructing Artillery Batteries.** Emplacement of siege artillery in protected batteries, arranged to fire on weak or flanked points of the fortress walls, or to suppress defender's guns. 7-**Bombardment and Reduction Fire.** Firing on walls, bastions, and defensive works to cause damage, suppress defenders, and produce breaches. 8-**Counter-battery. Fire.** Targeting enemy guns to silence them or suppress their fire, to protect the advancing sap and attack. 9-**Mining / Countermining & Undermining.** Where appropriate, digging mines under walls or counters to enemy mining efforts; undermining walls to collapse them. 10-**Repairing Trenches / Covering Works / Defences of the Approaches.** Continuously maintaining and improving the trenches, parapets, traverses, and protective works against sorties or defensive fire. 11-**Final Approaches / Storming Preparation.** The saps are pushed almost to the walls; defenses are suppressed; breach is prepared; assault plans are made (e.g. placing ladders, saps to breach, infiltration). 12-**Assault / Capitulation.** Either a direct assault on the breach (or weak point) or the defenders surrender under negotiated terms (especially after bombardment has made further defense untenable).

effectiveness of this tactic proved to be so great that it was adopted by all the belligerents and remained applied until the middle of the nineteenth century, when rifled artillery appeared [1858]. These steps were as follows: first, the siege army was to surround the place by surprise in order to interdict reinforcements and logistical assistance. Then it was to build its camp between the lines of investment: the circumvallation line, facing outwards, and the counter-vallation line, facing the city and 2,400 meters from it. Then the engineers had to identify the sector to be attacked, generally two bastions and the *half-moon* placed between the two, whereas, in the Middle Ages, the total or partial lack of artillery only allowed the curtain walls to be attacked. The approach trenches could then begin from the line of counter-vallation: two trenches approached in a zigzag[360] in the axis of the two bastions[361]. At the range limit of the artillery of the time [600 meters], the first parallel was built[362]. The guns were placed in battery in such a way that they could enfilade the faces of the attacked bastions, as well as those of the central *half-moon*; They were ricocheting from behind the parapet. Immediately, the zigzags of approach detached themselves from the first parallel, still in the axis of the bastions, up to 350 meters from the city where a second parallel was dug. From there, the attack continued with 3 *zigzags*[363] on which were grafted short parallels called *demi-places d'armes*, intended for the batteries.

When the zigzags reached the foot of the glacis of the stronghold, the third parallel was dug. From this penultimate parallel, the trenches go up to the covered-way [*chemin-couvert*] from where works called *cavaliers-de-tranchée*, protected by a parapet,

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[360] In order to avoid *enfilade fire* or *tir d'enfilade.*

[361] They said *On the capitals of the bastions*. Indeed, the fire coming from the capital [from the salient point] of a bastion was less dense.

[362] Line of trenches parallel to the general axis of the city walls.

[363] Still on the capitals [on the salient angle] of the two bastions, but also in the axis of the half-moon.

allow the attackers to push back the defenders entrenched in the covered-way. When the crest of the glacis and the covered-way are taken, they are crowned, that is to say, put in a state of defense as a last parallel. From there, **breach batteries**[364] were installed at point-blank range in order to demolish part of the wall. Two lateral cuts with a cannon, in the scarp wall, followed by a horizontal cut, make it possible to demolish a section of wall[365] and, with the rubble, to establish *an inclined plane* [a ramp] at the bottom of the ditch. The assault troops then had to descend into the ditch, through a *sape* [an underground gallery]. It was in the end the final assault, in broad daylight to avoid confusion.

Summary of the action: On the 11th of April, the French Maréchal de Saxe began the investment [the besieging] of the city on the left bank. He seized the entrenched camp of St. Peter's and set up his headquarters at the Abbey of Hocht. On the same day, while the allied troops, who were not designated to garrison Maestricht, were crossing the Geule and retiring to Ruremond, a second French army, under the command of Maréchal de Lowendal, arrived from the provinces of Namur and Luxembourg, and emerged on the plain of Wyk, to invest the city on that side. Lowendal leaned his right against the Meuse near the village of Breust, and his left against the same stream near the *castle of Borgharen*[366]. The trench was opened on the night of April 15-16 on both sides of the attack. The general attack was fixed for May 4th, at nightfall. Around noon that day, Cumberland's British plenipotentiaries presented themselves to Maurice de Saxe with a request for an armistice. The

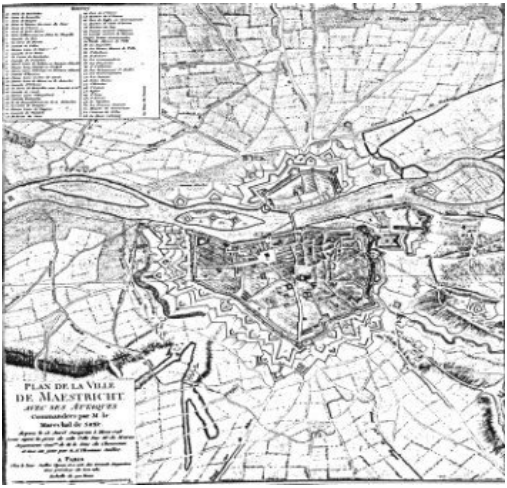
[364] The breach was sometimes made **by mine** (tunnel), a gallery dug, then the wall was destroyed by explosion. But this kind of attack resulted in severe losses, so Vauban preferred breach batteries: *"Let's burn more gunpowder, let's shed less blood"* he used to say wisely.
[365] If the ditch was full of water, it had to be filled with rubble and fascines [bundles of sticks bound together or fagots or faggots; The secondary meaning of *guay man* dates back to cruel times when homosexuals were burned at the stake like bundles of sticks.] to attack the scarp.
[366] Or Opharen.

French granted the *Honors of War* to the garrison, but the city and the forts which defended it were to be delivered up to them unconditionally. Prisoners would be exchanged, and the inhabitants of the city would be free to stay or leave. The capitulation of the city was signed on May 7th. The siege therefore lasted only 22 days.

Casualties ♦Quite low, as there was only preliminary fire from the breach batteries, as well as approach work, but no final assault**.**

Consequence of this Anglo-Allied defeat: The loss of this powerful fortress was a very hard blow for the Allied General Staff.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Annales de la Société Historique & Archéologique à Maestricht*, Imprimé chez LeiterNypels, Maestricht, 185618571858.* ♦*Dumoulin,* Réflexions sur les environs de Maestricht ou mémoires instructifs sur les campagnes de 1747 et 1748 qui prouvent évidemment que la bataille de Lawffelt n'est venue que par les mouvemens déplacés des deux partis *. Journal du siège de Bergop. Zoom, avec des réflexions militaires, Imprimerie de Grangé, Paris, 1756. 2 tomes. G. D. Franquinet,* Histoire du siège de la ville de Maestricht en 1748*, Maestricht, 1856.*



Another plan of the Maastricht fortress with its attacks. Priv.Coll

N
Siège de Maestricht, 1748
Fortifications, et attaques Sud, Ouest, Est
et Nord

Battle of La Mézagouèche.

Date of the action: September 17, 1750.

Location: Sainte-Marguerite River; Misseguash or Missauguash River, in the Isthmus of Beaubassin [or Chignecto], between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. This was the current border between these two provinces, which became Canadian in 1867. Geographical coordinates: 45°50' north latitude, and 64° 15' west longitude.

Conflict: Guerrilla warfare in Acadia. France and England had been officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748].

Context ♦French Acadia had been assigned to England by the Treaty of Utrecht 37 years earlier [1713]; the Acadian and Indian guerrilleros continued a hopeless struggle, however, given the lack of interest that Versailles had in this French colony that Louis XIV had ceded to England as the bribe of its defection shortly before the end of the War of the Spanish Succession.

Chiefs present ♦*French*: Probably Beausoleil[367]. ♦*English*: Monsieur Bertetol, pro-English Huguenot.

Forces ♦*French*: 35 men. ♦*English*: 60 men.

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[367] Joseph Broussard *aka* Beausoleil was born in Port-Royal d'Acadie in 1702. He became a captain in the French militia, then, at the time of the ethnic cleansing of Acadia, he succeeded in joining the maquis with other Acadians and Mi'kmaq Indians and continued the fight against the English occupation. At the fall of New France, he surrendered to the English and was imprisoned in Halifax until 1764. With 193 former guerrillas, he moved to Saint-Domingue and then went to Louisiana. He died on 20 October 1765 and was buried near the present town of Broussard.

Strategy or Tactics : Fort Lawrence was intended to guard the new Franco-English border between Acadia, now English, and Canada. More strategically, the British were beginning to put pressure on the French populations in the region to emigrate across the border. On 23 September 1713, the Acadian families of Vescac, Les Planches, Mencan [Maccan], Nainpan [Nappan], Rivière-Hébert, and Minudie [Menoudy], whose men were already at Pointe Beauséjour, left the ruins of their houses and took refuge in the French sector of Beauséjour. Houses and barns with their contents had been burned by the English, causing the greatest need, at the beginning of the cold season, to such an extent that some people had to be maintained at the expense of the [French] state. Most of the cattle had been lost and stolen by the British and the rest could not be kept during the winter because "there was not enough salt to preserve the meat[368]."

Summary of the action : Since September 15th, the English had been working feverishly to build a strategic fort [Fort Lawrence]. Two or three days after the commencement of the work, Mr. Bertetol, an officer of Fort Lawrence, advanced into the woods on reconnaissance with a company of 60 men, crossed the Sainte-Marguerite [La Mézagouèche] and arrived on French territory, as he had already done several times since he had been in the protection of the workers of the fort. Suddenly, this English unit came across a small band of guerrillas [35 Acadians and Mi'kmaq Indians] who directed a murderous fire on them, killing their captain and a good part of the English troops. Only a few Redcoats managed to escape and return to English territory; the rest of the English troops were taken prisoner, including seven soldiers and an ensign, all

[368] A strange comment for people who lived by the sea. But it must be borne in mind that the sea freezes over in these regions, and that, in any case, the extremely cold climate would not allow sufficient evaporation to produce the thousands of tons of salt necessary to preserve the stocks of beef and mutton.

wounded. On the French side, two Indians were killed, one of whom was a chief[369].

Casualties ♦*Franco-Indian*: 2 killed. ♦*English*: about 40 killed and 8 wounded.

As a result of this English defeat , during the night, the Indians attacked the English camp on the other side of the border. They killed another Englishman and took a few other prisoners. In spite of this, the English worked tirelessly to build their fort, which was completed in early October. After this ambush, the British avoided crossing the border "in compact troops" when they wanted to carry out their punitive expeditions on French territory for the attacks perpetrated by the uncontrolled armed resistance on English territory.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Thomas B. Akins, *Acadia and Nova Scotia: documents relating to the Acadian French and the first British colonization of the province, 17141758*, Editeur Polyanthos, Cottonport, Louisianem, 1972. ♦Milton P. Rieder, *Beaubassin*, 17121748, publié à Metairie, Louisiane, 1976. ♦Clarence J. d'Entremont , *Petit manuel d'histoire d'Acadie des débuts à 1976,* Librairie acadienne, Université de Moncton, Moncton, NB, 1976. ♦Will Richard Bird, Done at Grand Pré, Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1955. ♦Bona Arsenault, *Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens*, 6 vol. Tome 1 : *Histoire des Acadiens,* vol. 2 : *Port Royal,* vol. 3 : *Beaubassin,* Lemeac, Montréal, 1978.

Rivière Mésagouèche (Missaguash in English) today. Priv.Coll.

[369] Which was only wounded but later died of his wounds.

Attack on the Mézagouèche.

Date of the action: November 1, 1750.

Location: Sainte-Marguerite River, border between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Geographical coordinates: 45°50' north latitude, and 64° 15' west longitude.

Conflict: France and England had been officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748]. Guerrilla warfare in Acadia.

Background: Although France and England were officially at peace, guerrilla warfare raged in the border regions of Acadia, which had been sacrificed by a stroke of the pen by Louis XIV at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht to buy the defection of England.

Chiefs in attendance ♦: Deschamps de Boishébert[370] or Joseph Broussard *aka* Beausoleil the Acadian guerrillero[371].

Forces ♦*Franco-Mi'kmaq*: 15 men. ♦*English*: about 15 men.

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[370] Charles Deschamps de Boishébert et de Raffetot, officer in the colonial regular troops, born at Quebec on 7 Feb. 1727, son of Henri-Louis Deschamps de Boishébert and Louise-Geneviève de Ramezay. On 7 Sept. 1760, in Cliponville (dept. of Seine-Maritime, France), he married his cousin Charlotte-Élisabeth Antoinette Deschamps de Boishébert et de Raffetot.

[371] Joseph Broussard dit Beausoleil was born at PortRoyal d'Acadie in 1702. He became a captain in the militia, then, at the time of the ethnic cleansing of Acadia, he succeeded in joining the maquis with other Acadians and Mi'kmaq Indians and continued the fight against the English occupation. At the fall of New France he surrendered to the English and was imprisoned in Halifax until 1764. With 193 former guerrillas, he moved to Saint-Domingue and then went to Louisiana. He died on 20 October 1765 and was buried near the present town of Broussard.

Strategy or Tactics: Surprise was the essential element in the success of this action.

Summary of the action: Fort Lawrence fired cannon at the French during this period, but without harm, as the dike protected the French. On *All Saints' Day*, 15 Acadians and Indians attacked an English schooner during the night. The ship had become stuck in the sand on the bank of the Sainte-Marguerite, near the mouth. One or two English sailors were killed, the rest of the crew, including the captain, surrendered. The ship was emptied of its contents and then destroyed by fire. An Acadian from Minas Basin was found trapped on board. He had been forced to serve as a pilot.

Casualties ♦One or two Englishmen were killed.

Consequence of this English defeat: Although insignificant, these successes helped to maintain high morale among the insurgent populations who were unaware, of course, that Louis XIV had abandoned them.

Site of the former Acadian village of Beaubassin, in the shadow of the Acadian flag (the French tricolour adorned with the Star of the Sea, *Maris Stella*).

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦**Henry Kirke,** The first English conquest of Canada, with some account of the earlier settlements in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland**, S**. Low, Marston, Londres, 1908. ♦**Bona ARSENAULT,** Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens**, 6 vol. Tome 1 :** Histoire des Acadiens, **tome 2 :** Port Royal, **tome 3 :** Beaubassin, **Lemeac, Montréal, 1978. ♦JosephHenri Blanchard, Histoire des Acadiens de l'Ile du Prince** Edouard imprimé à l'occasion du voyage du Devoir à l'Ile du Prince Edouard, les 10 et 11 août, 1927, Imprimerie de l'Evangéline, Moncton, 1927**. ♦John Bartlet Brebner, New England's outpost : Acadia before the conquest of Canada, Columbia Uni**versity Press, New York, 1927. ♦**Guy Murchie, Saint Croix, the sentinel river; historical sketches of its discovery, early conflicts and final occupation by English and American settlers, with some comments on Indian life, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York, 1947.**

Ethnic Cleansing of French Acadia. Priv.Coll.

Siege of Mons.

Date of the action: 24 June - 10 July 1746.

Location: Belgium, Geographical coordinates: 50° 27' north latitude, and 03° 56' east longitude. [See the toponymic map of Flanders located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend, from 10 to 23 August 1745].

Context: After forcing the Anglo-Allies to leave the Antwerp Basin and retreat to Breda, the French Maréchal de Saxe decided to lay siege to Mons. Messieurs d'Estrées and de Boufflers were ordered to invest this place and Monsieur le Prince de Conti took the direction of the siege[372].

Chiefs ♦*French* : Prince de Conti[373]. ♦*Anglo-allies*: unknown.

Forces Unknown.

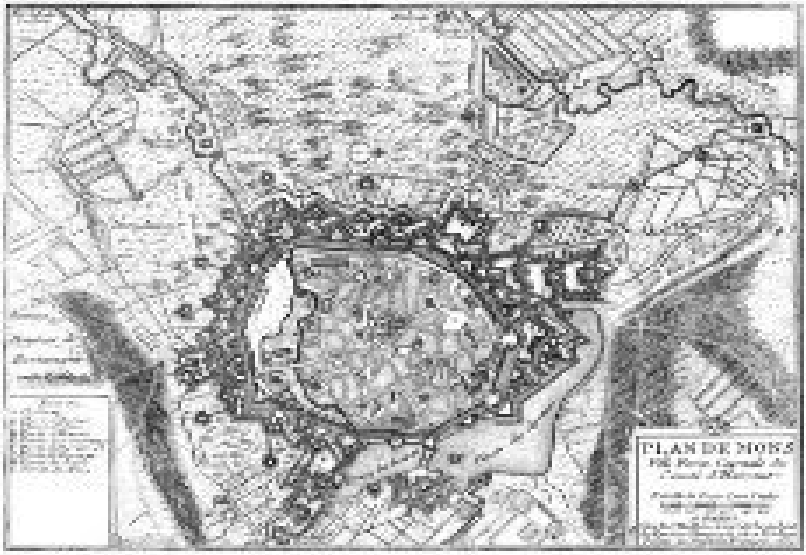
Strategy or Tactics: A full-fledged siege with parallels, zigzags, breach batteries, and, finally, capitulation before the general assault.

[372] Much of the information about this siege comes from Faesch's book.
[373] Louis François de Bourbon-Conti, Count of La Marche and then Prince of Conti in 1727, was born on 13 August 1717 in Paris and died on 2 August 1776 in the same city. The Prince of Conti was one of the key figures in the princely opposition to Louis XV. He played a central role in the life of the court of Versailles in the 1740s and 1750s. Conti was replaced in the last days of the siege by the Marquis de La Fare.

Summary of the action: The trench was opened during the night of 24 to 25 June by two "attacks[374]", one on the *Bertamont* side, and the other on the *Nimy Gate* sector.

Attack on Bertamont: 3,500 workers, under the protection of 12 companies of Grenadiers and three battalions of Infantry under the command of Monsieur de La Fare, Lieutenant General, ran along a line of 900 toises[375], 230 toises from the barriers[376] of Mons. The Besieged kept a very mediocre fire on this part during the night, but, in the morning, they opened a very dense fire with their cannons and bomb-launchers; it was without effect, for the trench was fairly perfected at daybreak. Killed: 0; Wounded: 2 soldiers.

Attacks west of Mons by the suburb Bertamont. Mons Municipal Library.



[374] Or *offensive* "exits or advances" when speaking of the trenches.
[375] The measuring rod measured almost 2 meters.
[376] The barriers surrounded the glacis, as an additional obstacle.

Attack on Nimy Gate: 2,600 workers, under the protection of 10 companies of Grenadiers and 3 battalions of Infantry under the orders of the Duc de Boufflers, Lieutenant-General, dug a trench which arrived under the cover of the houses[377]130 toises from the palisades to form the 1st parallel. They started the beginnings of a second parallel, which were perfected during the day. The development of these works was 600 fathoms, including the communication[378]. The French occupied two redoubts which the Anglo-allies had abandoned at the approach of the French. Throughout the night, the French were subjected to heavy bomb, artillery and musketry fire: 1 killed and 14 soldiers wounded.

Night of June 25 to 26. *Attack on Bertamont*: The French pushed forward two new trenches on the rear of the parallel in order to facilitate traffic. They extended it on the right to envelop the village of Hion. They also made communication tranches toward each battery location to be created, each battery being connected to the parallel by a section of trench. The night was extremely quiet.

Attack on Nimy: The French lodged in the third redoubt which they had seized at the beginning of the night. The right of the 1st parallel was extended by 90 fathoms, 20 of which were beyond causeway[379], and the left by 140 fathoms. They worked on the 4 batteries started the day before. The fire according to the besieged was not as weak and inaccurate as the previous night: 18 wounded.

Night of June 26 to 27. *Attack on Bertamont*: On the right, the French "unblocked" a zigzag of 110 fathoms in 25 branches, and they worked to form the second parallel which could not be

[377] Thanks to the fact that these houses had not been demolished and could thus be used to hide the work.
[378] The zigzag or approach gut. While the parallels were trenches parallel to the surrounding walls, the approach trenches had to be dug in zigzags so as not to be enfiladed by fortress artillery.
[379] A causeway is made of embankment: raised in relation to the surrounding land. A fathom equals 1,83m; so 90 fathoms equal 162meters.

completed. There were about 100 fathoms left to join the left of the 1st parallel. The communication that led to the village of Hion was perfected. At night, planks and beams were brought in to erect the platforms of the batteries.

Attack on Nimy: Extension of the second parallel and zigzags. The French were 30 fathoms from the covered road. The besieged made a sortie at midnight [only 20 men], but the Grenadiers made them turn back. Five French batteries began to fire at daybreak. Work was done on the transport of the 6th battery of 6 mortars. That night, 4 were killed and 25 wounded.

Night of 27 to 28 June. *Attack on Bertamont*: the second parallel was completed. All the batteries opened fire at daybreak. On the Bertamont front, the French had 56 artillery pieces and 28 mortars. The besieged Anglo-Allies concentrated their fire on the Central battery, which was damaged.

Attack on Nimy: The 6th Battery began firing at daybreak. The French had 20 cannons and 12 mortars on this front. That night the besieged abandoned the hornwork [ouvrage-à-cornes] of La Haine, where they left a cannon of iron. The French then attacked the Frisian redoubt on their right. They captured 14 men and settled in these two defensive-works[380].

Night of June 28 to 29. *Bertamont Front*: French attack on the right bastion of the hornwork by 17 zigzags together making 106 toises, and by 12 on the half-moon making 107 toises in length[381]. The head of these sapes was 65 fathoms from the palisade of the *covered-way* (3 killed and 2 wounded). The small defensive-work

[380380] The flying sap was not dug into the ground but erected on the surface, either to go faster or because the terrain was rocky. The sides of the flying sapes were made of gabions filled with earth. They were generally covered.
[381] The toise equals two meters, or more precisely 1,949 cm.

of the *Moulin Saint-Pierre* was badly treated by the French artillery, and surrendered [1 lieutenant and 17 men].

Nimy Front: As the French were very close, they advanced by *flying saps*[382].

Night of 29 to 30 June. *Attack on Bertamont*: The French were also advancing by undermining. Bad weather delayed this work, which reached a point located 40 fathoms from the salient of the *covered-way* of the *half-moon*.

Night of 30 June to 1 July. *Attack on Bertamont*: other zigzags detached themselves from the third parallel to within 15 fathoms of the covered-way. Fairly dense artillery exchange.

Attack on Nimy: The French reached the salient of the covered-way of the small structure. The Anglo-allies were driven back. The Allied artillery was beginning to be really dominated. 6 Frenchmen killed and 17 wounded[383].

Night of July 1st to 2nd. Attack on Bertamont: in addition to the usual fighting, the besieged blew up a *fougasse*[384] zigzag from the 3rd parallel. Very high fire all night. 20 French killed, including three officers, and 62 wounded, including two captains.

Night of 2 to 3 July. *Bertamont front*: the Prince de Conti decided to attack the covered-way that night. The Counts of Tresme, Coëtlogon and Crillon, who commanded the trench, launched the assault from three points on the three corners of the covered-way

[382] The sap (sape) was a tunnel or covered passage. The *flying sap* (sape volante) was a sap on the surface, without a proper excavation, sheltered behind wooden mantelets or behind large wicker baskets (*gabions*) filled with earth.
[383] The French text does not mention Anglo-Allied losses.
[384] *Fougasse*: Charge of powder placed at the bottom of a hole filled with stones. The explosion had anti-personnel effects.

of the half-moon, and from 2 half-bastions. Two companies of Grenadiers rushed forward at each point, supported by two others who would intervene in case of determined resistance. As soon as the Grenadiers appeared on the crest of the glacis, the besieged Anglo-Allies abandoned the covered-way, but, despite their haste, the French managed to take 37 prisoners. The French miners [sappers], who went simultaneously into the covered-way, tore the *saucissons*[385] from two mines ready to play [to explode]. Two *fougasses* went off at that moment in front of the covered-way of the left horn but did not hurt anyone. 31 Frenchmen were killed and 87 wounded. *Nimy Front*: no attack; but the advance of the French continued.

Night of 3 to 4 July. *Bertamont Front*: The 4th parallel was completed and breach batteries were installed at point-blank range. The two ricochet French batteries established on the left of the 1st parallel continued their fire with great success [2 Frenchmen killed and 20 wounded]. *Nimy Front*: the trenches were pushed further.

Night of 4 to 5 July. *Bertamont Front*: The French descended into the ditches. The breach batteries continued to breach the walls. The besieged threw a number of grenades and stones into the French trenches and into the ditches where the French were infiltrating. Musketry fires to which the French Grenadiers responded [5 killed and 22 wounded French]. The following nights, these advances continued.

Finally, during the ***night of the 9th to the 10th***, in Nimy, around 3:00 a.m., the besieged beat the chamade and hoisted the white flag. The capitulation was signed, the garrison surrendered.

[385] The mine *saucissons* were long rolls of canvas filled with powder, which were used to set fire to a mine *furnac*e. They were the ancestors of slow or fast wicks.

Casualties ♦*French*: 141 killed and 637 wounded. ♦*Anglo-allies*: unknown.

As a result of this Anglo-Allied defeat, Mons fell into the hands of the French, which created a gaping breach in the Anglo-Allied lines to the north.

SOURCES & FURTHER READINGS ♦*Faesch,* **Journaux des sièges de la campagne de MDCCXLVI dans les PaisBas; avec les plans en tailledouce,** *P. Mortier, Amsterdam, 1750. Code B.N. Lh^{4}72.* ♦*Chevalier d'Espagnac,* **Relation de la campagne en Brabant et en Flandres de l'an M.DCC.XLV**, *Editions F.H. Scheurleer, La Haye, 1748.* ♦**Nouvelle Relation du camp et de la prise de la ville de Mons, par le prince de Conty, rendue au roi de France le 10 juillet dernier 1746, aucune données de publication.** ♦**Acte royal du 12 juillet 1746, signé à Versailles, Lettre à Mgr. l'archevêque de Paris [pour lui mander de faire chanter le Te Deum dans les églises de son diocèse, en action de grâces de la prise de Mons**. ♦*Alexis Hubert Jaillot,* **Carte particulière des Environs de Mons**, *Mons, Belgique, 1746.*

Priv.Coll.

Archives municipales de Namur. Priv.Coll.

Siege of Namur.

Date of the action: 6 - 30 September 1746.

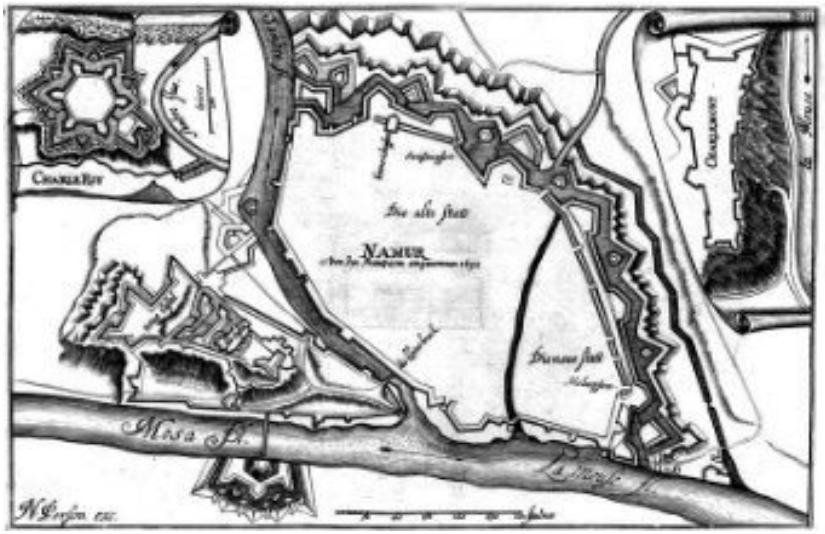
Location: Present-day Belgium. Geographical coordinates: 50°28' north latitude, and 04°52' east longitude. [See the toponymic map of Flanders located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend, from 10 to 23 August 1745].

Background: In 1745, Louis XV had invaded the Austrian Netherlands. From the beginning of the campaign of 1746, the Anglo-Allied army encamped on the frontier of Holland and in North Brabant. From 20 July, it was placed under the command of Charles of Lorraine. At the end of the same month, Charles of Lorraine decided to cover Namur and marched on Mehaigne. On 6 September, Maréchal Maurice de Saxe established the French army in the vicinity of Tongeren, on the Jaar, in an advantageous position intended to cover the *siege of Namur*. The investment of this city was therefore begun on September 6. Monsieur de Ségur was to blockade this place by the right bank of the Meuse River [die *Maas* in Dutch and German], in conjunction with an Army Corps which Chazeron brought from Mézières. At the same time, the French Maréchal de Saxe detached the Prince de Clermont from his army to establish the investment on the left bank. In July 1746, English Army [Hessian mercenaries under English pay and battalions of English infantry, mainly Scots] arrived on the continent, more precisely at Williamstadt[386] with English General Ligonier to command them. But rivalries for precedence [primacy] immediately

[386] Ostend and Antwerp, the usual ports of landing for the English in Flanders, were in the hands of the French.

began to arise with the Austrians and the other Allies, the English being too presumptuous and too complicated in character, to accept being under the command of anyone from another nationality.

Commanders present ♦*French*: Maréchal Maurice de Saxe; Louis de Bourbon-Conti[387], comte de Clermont, born in 1709, died in 1770; comte de Lowendal[388]. ♦*Anglo-allies*: Charles of Lorraine, brother of Emperor Francis I, had been appointed governor of the Netherlands in 1744.



Fortifications of Namur. Archives municipales de Namur.

[387] Louis François de Bourbon Conti, Count of La Marche and then Prince of Conti in 1727, was born on 13 August 1717 in Paris and died on 2 August 1776 in the same city. The Prince of Conti was one of the key figures in the princely opposition to Louis XV. He played a central role in the life of the court of Versailles in the 1740s and 1750s.

[388] Born in 1700, his ancestor was a natural son of Frederick III, King of Denmark. He served first in Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Russia. In 1743, he went into the service of France, a country to which he had been attracted by his friend Maurice de Saxe. The capture of Bergen-op-Zoom in 1747 earned him the baton of marshal. He died in 1755.

The Namur's garrison was commanded by Lieutenant-General Coleyar until the 13th; then this officer was replaced by Lieutenant-General B. Crommelin. The British High Command in the Netherlands was under the command of Lord Dunmore. General Ligonier commanded the *British Expeditionary Force*.

Troops Engaged ♦*French*: The siege army consisted of 56 Infantry battalions, 52 Cavalry and Artillery squadrons; that is to say a little more than 30,000 Infantry and 5,500 Cavalry. ♦*Anglo-allies*: the garrison of Namur included 11 infantry battalions, i.e. a little more than 8,000 men.

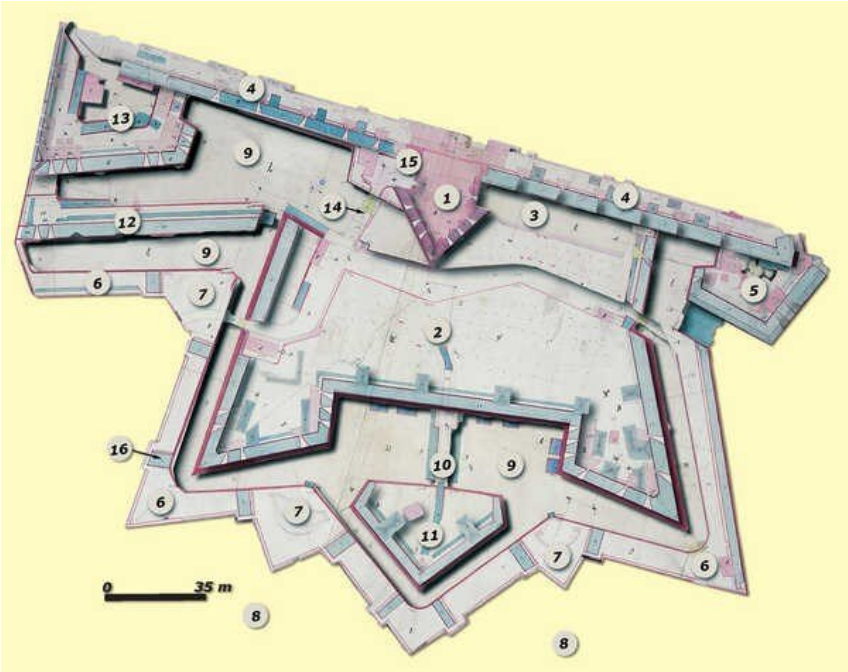
Strategy or Tactics: This siege brought together everything that could be done at the time in the field of poliorcetics: circumvallation lines, parallels, zigzag communication trenches, mines, ricochet batteries, breach batteries, assaults, artificial floods...

Summary of the action: Although the investment officially began on September 6, the French partisans were beating the campaign well before that date, as early as the 1st of September. On 6 September, the Magistrate of Namur ordered the demolition of the thatched roofs, the removal of all combustible or explosive materials from the attics, the keeping of a water reserve, and the avoidance of crowding or climbing the ramparts. The houses in the suburbs were demolished in order to clear the angles of fire. The French began the preliminary work. From the 11th, some French batteries began to pound the city and the forts. The next day, ricochet batteries swept[389] the parapet walks of the defense-works and the castle. The trench was opened during the night of 12 to 13 September. The system of trenches originated in three places: on the right bank, on the left bank[390], and on the heights in the direction

[389] The ricochet batteries, posted in the extension of the walls, tried to sweep the parapet walks lengthwise.
[390] Facing the forehead of Saint Nicholas.

of Saint-Fiacre. The French established new batteries every day. From the 13th, 54 cannons were shelling the city. Curiously, no sortie [attack] disturbed or disrupted the digging of the trenches.

Here is a **more complete schema of Vauban fortifications**, showing the main defensive works and outworks.



Vauban fortifications of San-Sébastian in 1850:
1-Citadel; 2-Hornwork (Ouvrage à cornes); 3-Pelote Court (Jeu de pelote); 4-South Wall (Muraille méridionale); 5-Bastion de Saint-Jacques; 6-Covered Way (Chemin couvert); 7-Places d'Armes for Covered Ways (Place d'armes du chemin couvert); 8-Glacis; 9-Ditch (Fossé); 10- Double caponnière (covered bridge gallery); 11-Ravelin; 12-Contre-garde; 13-Bastion de Saint-Philippe; 14-Bridge from 'ouvrage à cornes to Port de terre; 15-Port de terre; 16-Covered passage from the covered way to the Glacis (for "sorties" counterattacks).

Source: Juan Antonio Sáez

Outworks : ***Ravelins*** : triangular shields before curtain walls. ended wings. ***Counterguards*** : extra protection before bastions. ***Tenailles*** : V-shaped works in the ditch, between bastions. ***Lunette*** : detached half-moon works beyond the glacis. ***Hornwork*** : two demi-bastions with a curtain, projecting outward. ***Crownwork*** : large detached work with extensions.

On *the night of the 14th to the 15th*, the French attacked Fort-Bibac by surprise. The defenders, 60 in number, were killed or taken prisoner. The French lost 15 men during this attack. Scarcely had the fort been taken by the French when 50 Anglo-Allies arrived to relieve the garrison. The French let them approach and then forced them to lay down their arms. The capture of Fort-Bivac allowed the French to attack Porte Saint-Nicolas more effectively, as well as the *hornwork* of Saint-Nicolas and the Balart *lunette*. The shots from this *lunette* greatly inconvenienced the trench French sappers. The French therefore dug a sap on the salient of this work. In spite of their bite, the Anglo-Allies had difficulty holding on to Balart lunette, which was directly exposed to the fire of the French guns of Fort Bivac. On the morning of the 16th, when the firing had ceased on both sides to allow the wives of the Anglo-Allies to leave the city[391], a company of French Grenadiers attempted to escalate. The French commando was stunned to find the door of the fort open and 56 men inside lying on the ground to avoid the cannonballs and bombs that would soon begin to fall again. Surprised, the Anglo-Allied soldiers killed a few Frenchmen

[391] Many English commissioned officers (sons of aristocrats or wealthy bourgeois) had the privilege of being followed by their wife or mistress.

and then took refuge in a pillbox which was immediately attacked with bayonets, the door broken down and the work stormed. The 56 defenders capitulated and were taken prisoner. The next day, 120 French guns struck the city, and all the approach works were almost completed: in the central sector, the French had successively established the 2nd and 3rd parallels. There was, on this side, a tongue of land narrowed between the river and the works of Saint-Nicolas. It led to a fairly large breach that the French cannons of *Jambes* had opened in the bastion of *Saint-Roch*, between the old tower of the Meuse and the corner of the bastion. In addition, the red cannonballs[392] had lit a vast fire in the fodder stores which had lasted for three days. General de Lowendal resolved to attempt an attack in that direction.

On September 18th at 10 p.m., 12 companies of Grenadiers, followed by 200 sappers and supported by 12 other companies, slipped noiselessly along this strip of land. While a *diversionary attack* drew the attention of the besieged on their left, the French Grenadiers climbed the gap and surprised the Anglo-allies who put up a short but sharp resistance : the French had 50 killed or wounded, and the Anglo-allies lost the 300 defenders of this sector[393]. The French then quickly fortified themselves in this work in view of an English counterattack which did not come. Afterwards, three hours later, they cannonaded Cohorn's work. At about 7:00 a.m., Lowendal summoned the commander of this fort [Cohorn] to surrender. Which he did with his 74 men and 6 guns. The other forts in the north also surrendered and were handed over to the French by the Anglo-allies. On the same day [19 September] about noon, the Anglo-allies raised the white flag, and the capitulation of the city was signed. The citadel remained to be besieged. On the 24th, the truce expired and the Dutch Lieutenant-General

[392] White-hot or red-hot, in order to become incendiary.
[393] In wounded, prisoners and killed.

Benjamin Crommelin, in the citadel, fired on the French batteries, which immediately replied. The French had pointed 41 cannons and 36 mortars at the citadel's keep, Fort-Orange and Terra-Nova. In the evening, a bomb set fire to a store of food and powder in the keep, which exploded, ignited the church of Saint-Pierre and destroyed it completely. Generally speaking, these defensive works returned a very lively fire, and, during the night work, the French suffered heavy losses[394]. To stop this deadly fire, the French attacked: at 9:00 p.m., 4 companies of Grenadiers and 100 volunteers appeared on the covered-way of Fort-Camus, while, on their left, four other companies assaulted the parts of the covered-way that lay between this fort and the Kykuit redoubt. There was no obstinate resistance except on the side of this redoubt. The French Grenadiers, for lack of ladders, climbed on the shoulders of their comrades to scale the walls. They finally broke into the redoubt, took 40 prisoners and captured 2 cannons. On the 29th, the lunette Camus surrendered. The French were then able to push their work in this direction. As soon as a covered-way was taken, it was immediately *crowned*[395]. When the breaches of Fort-Orange and Terra-Nova became passable, Lowendal sent a new summons to Lieutenant-General Crommelin. The latter finally accepted a capitulation which was signed the same day [30 September 1746]. The Anglo-Allied garrison was denied the *Honours of War*.

Casualties ♦Heavy but generally unknown.

As a result of this Anglo-Allied defeat, the French took possession of Namur. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, of October 18, 1748, restored the Netherlands to Maria Theresa of Austria, Queen of Hungary. The French evacuated Namur on 10 February 1749 and were replaced by a Dutch garrison under the command of the Austrian

[394] 28 killed and 53 wounded during the night of the 24th to the 25th alone, the most fruitful for the Allies.
[395] That is to say, entrenchments were dug there in order to install breach batteries.

General Baron de Schwartzenberg. In 1782, Emperor Joseph II ordered the demolition of the fortifications... to the great joy of the population who feared to play a strategic role in these incessant wars of the eighteenth century, and to the great despair of today's population, who, at great expense, would like to reconstitute these same fortifications for a purpose... tourism.

SOURCES & READINGS ♦Louis XIV assiege Namur**, in Les Amis de la Citadelle de Namur, N 58, March 1992, Saint-Servais.MarcAlbert ♦Moriame, and A. S.B.L.,** 1692 Louis XIV à Namur, Histoire d'un siege... Éditions Erasme, Namur, 1992.Jules ♦Borgnet, Promenades dans la Ville de Namur, Namur, 1851.J ♦. Bovesse, Les sieges de Namur dans Namur, perle de la Meuse**, Namur, 19461947.**

Naval battle of Negapatam.

Date of the action: 6-7 July 1746.

Location: Eastern coast of Ceylon or Sri Lanka. The battlefield was located directly off the port of Negapatam, now Nagappattinam. Geographical coordinates: 10°46' north latitude, and 79° 50' east longitude.

Conflict: War of the Austrian Succession [17401748].

Background: Since the death of Aureng-Zeb in 1707, the Mughal [Mongol] Empire had been in full disintegration. As in France, after the collapse of Charlemagne's Empire, the former administrators of India's provinces gradually transformed themselves into independent and hereditary princes[396]. Then, out of ambition and greed, the Subahdars and Nawabs turned against one another in constant wars. To hasten the fall of Mughal (Mongol) power, Nadir Shah —a former camel driver who had seized the throne of Persia in 1732—, invaded the Empire and delivered Delhi to plunder in March 1739[397]. Meanwhile, the Marathas were becoming increasingly formidable in the south of the peninsula. In 1732, Dost Ali Khan had just taken over from his uncle Saadatullah Khan, as ruler of the Carnatic. This Muslim principality, located on the Coromandel coast, was part of the Subah of the Deccan [Dekkan] and had Arcate [Arcot] as its capital. Prince Dost-Ali Khan showed sympathy toward the French and established close relations with

[396] And so they had formed a social class [the nobility] which they called "by divine right" the better to subjugate the uncultured people; while its power and privileges had been illegitimately usurped. Like the old European nobility, which came out of Charlemagne's imperial civil service.
[397] In March 1739.

Dumas, French Governor of Pondicherry. The administration of the latter —soon to be eclipsed in history by that of Dupleix— prepared the way supremely for his successor.

Through the intercession of his loyal friend Dost Ali Khan, the Great Mongol [or Mughal] granted the French in 1736 the right to mint gold and silver rupees at the mint[398] of the Nawab of Arcate. This gave Pondicherry's commerce a prodigious boom, and French coins gained such credit in India that the inhabitants preferred them, in trade and exchanges, to their own national currency. Strengthened by French support, Dosta-Ali Khan seized the kingdom of Trichinopoly and then sought to take Tanjore [1739]. Alarmed at the advance of the Muslims, the king of Tanjore and other petty Brahman princes turned to the Marathas [Brahmanists like themselves] for aid.. Raghoji Bhonsle, son of the Maratha king and a warrior of fierce spirit, assembled a formidable army of 150,000 Infantry and 60,000 Cavalry, and entered the campaign. Dost Ali Kahn was defeated on May 20, 1740 in a fierce battle fought in driving rain and thick mud, where even his elephants became unmanageable. Dost Ali Kahn and his son were trampled to death by their own pachyderms. Five days later, a convoy appeared[399] at the gates of Pondicherry. Dost Ali's widow and daughters sought the protection of their French friends, placing them in a very delicate position, as the city's fortifications were still incomplete. Yet, unwilling to appear ungrateful to the widow of a friend of France, the City Council decided to admit the fugitives. The queen was welcomed with a salvo of artillery. The small garrison was put under

[398] The coins were minted with a metal wedge which gave rise to the English word coin=coin.
[399] 20 palanquins accompanied by 1,500 horsemen, 80 elephants, 300 camels, more than 200 oxen carts in which their servants travelled, and more than 2,000 beasts of burden. [Archives of the Colonies. General correspondence C2 80].

arms, the stocks of ammunition for war and food replenished. Dumas formed a corps of 4,500 Muslims[400].

On January 20, 1741, Dumas received an insolent letter from Ragogi summoning him to deliver up Chanda-Sahïb's wife and son, along with payment of a tribute in token of submission. Dumas refused. Then, after a few unsuccessful attempts, the Mahrattes agreed to treat with the French.

But let us step back. Louis XIV had founded the French East India Company in 1664 and then dissolved; it was Law, under the Regency, who revived it with extraordinary privileges. Among these was the right for nobles to engage in trade without incurring derogation[401] — a measure designed to help impoverished or ruined aristocrats restore their fortunes, to restore their image and to regain their place in Parisian society[402]. Thus, Charles de Bussy[403], an orphan, was sent to India by the Comptroller General Orry to make "a fortune corresponding to his birth." In 1721, the farmer-general Dupleix had sent his own son Joseph François to Pondicherry, where he obtained an appointment as Councillor to the Colonial Council of the Comptoir[404], thanks to a pass from *the Compagnie française des Indes Orientales*. At that time, Jeanne Albert

[400] Who was at the origin of the Sepoy Corps of the French army, and, consequently, of the English Sepoys who were trained on the French model.
[401] Derogation is the action by which the rights and privileges attached to the nobility were lost. The nobles departed when they traded or worked for a living [in the metropolis only, not in the colonies].
[402] It is not surprising in these conditions that the colonial leaders shamelessly enriched themselves to the detriment of the local populations and the military, whose salaries often did not reach the pockets of the combatants; both on the French and English sides, whose leaders such as Clive, Lawrence and many others had to give an account to the London Justice after their return to England, especially if they were not of aristocratic origin, like the two above-mentioned. In Canada, the last governor, the Marquis Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnial, was also involved in numerous embezzlements and was arrested on his return to France and tried in the famous Affaire du Canada. He succeeded in being exonerated of all blame.
[403] CharlesJoseph Pâtissier, marquis de BussyCastelnau [17181785].
[404] He was also Commissary General of the Troops.

was 16 years old[405]. Exceptionally beautiful, she had been married at the age of 13 to a man of thirty, and had already borne him three children. Dupleix soon became inseparable from the Vincent household [406].

Later, he was appointed *Governor of the French establishments of the East India Company* in Bengal and took residence in Chandernagor. He brought the Vincents to join him there and developed the habit of sending Jeanne's weak-willed husband on distant missions to Arabia... where he eventually contracted fevers and died at the age of 50. He had been a gentle man, unable to resist a powerful and determined figure like Dupleix. By then, Jeanne had borne ten living children, some certainly by her husband and probably also by Dupleix.

Eighteen months later, at the age of thirty-three, Jeanne married her lover in Chandernagor. The Marquis Joseph François de Dupleix had just been appointed Governor of Pondicherry and of all the French Indies for the East India Company. With the help of his wife —whose deep knowledge of local customs of these countries and a remarkable intelligence proved invaluable— Dupleix was transformed into a great diplomat. Madame Dupleix thus became first a marquise, and later a begum when her husband received the title of nabob, that is, High official of the Great Mogul.

In the year 1746 which is the focust of this chapter, news arrived that an English squadron was sailing for India to destroy Pondicherry, the capital of the French Indies, Joseph François Dupleix carefully studied the situation. The French squadron in the

[405] Jeanne, who would become begum of Carnatic when her husband Joseph François Dupleix obtained the title of nabob, was born in Pondicherry on June 2, 1706. She was the daughter of Jacques ALBERT, official surgeon of the French in Pondicherry, and Élisabeth Rose de CASTRO. She was therefore of a French father and an Indo-Portuguese mother [she was a quarteronne] and therefore displayed a swarthy complexion. She spoke Tamil with her servants.
[406] Jeanne's husband was called Jacques VINCENT.

Indian Ocean had just been recalled to Europe. The fortifications of the city were too weak to withstand the guns of the English squadron, and the garrison numbered only 400 or 450 European soldiers. In this dire situation, Dupleix appealed for the protection of Anwarudin, the Nabob of the Carnatic. The Nabob immediately sent a message to Madras, the capital of British India, demanding strict neutrality and peace between his provinces, and insisting that both European powers respect it.

When the English squadron arrived toward the end of 1745, it was therefore confined to operations on the high seas. La Bourdonnais, faced with the English threat, managed to recover and regroup a few heterogeneous ships in Mauritius, thereby forming a small squadron that sailed to the coast of Ceylon in July 1746. Commodore Peyton, who commanded the English fleet in the Indies, was informed that a French squadron was off Ceylon. He therefore stationed himself off Negapatam to intercept the French and prevent them from reaching Pondicherry. The English objective in the coming battle was to cut off the French reinforcements bound for the French settlements in India.

Chiefs in the action ♦*French*: La Bourdonnais. ♦*English*: Commodore Edward Peyton, Barnett's successor.

Forces ♦*English*: the entire English squadron was composed of warships with a majority of large 24-pounder artillery pieces, 5 ships of the line and a frigate. ♦*French*: 3 ships of the line and 6 frigates, but only one ship, the ACHILLE, was fully armed. The other 8 were "armed *en flute*[407]." In addition, the calibres of the French ships were mostly small: only 8 and 12 pounds.

[407] That is to say, the ship was rigged as a transport with the lower ports closed and the guns partially disembarked to allow for increased freight and raising the waterline.

Strategy or Tactics: Given the weakness of the French in artillery, La Bourdonnais decided to attack the English by boarding. But the English commodore, who knew the weakness of the French in naval artillery, decided to avoid boarding and to use only artillery at a good distance so that most of French guns, which were too small in caliber, would be unusable.

Summary of the action: On the morning of the 6th of July, the two squadrons noticed each other and began to manoeuvre; the English to maintain the advantage of the wind and the French to try to take it from them. Commodore Peyton, desirous of avoiding a boarding and willing to fight an artillery battle, kept to windward, and by 4:30 p.m. the English squadron was able to open fire on the French from a safe distance, *i.e.* out of range of the French artillery. With its 24-pounder artillery pieces[408], it could inflict serious damage on the French ships, which could not even return fire with their 8- to 12-pounder guns and their infantry muskets. From the beginning of the action, three French ships had suffered heavy damage. One of them was totally dismasted. Thirty minutes before nightfall, La Bourdonnais arrived as reinforcements with L'ACHILLE, the only ship in the French squadron whose artillery could rival that of the English. For half an hour, the ACHILLE polarized the fire of the entire English squadron and thus saved the other French ships from destruction.

At nightfall, the battle ceased without any of the antagonists having the advantage. Each of the two antagonists had approximately 30 killed and 50 wounded. All the French ships had sometimes serious damage caused by enemy artillery; only one English ship had been heavily damaged[409]. By sunrise the next morning, the two squadrons, still in battle lines, had maintained the same

[408] That is to say, sending cannonballs of this weight.
[409] By the ACHILLES

position within their linear formation. The English retained, as on the previous day, the advantage of the wind. In the early morning, Commodore Peyton convened a *Council of War*.

	ROYAL	NAVY
NAME	***Guns***	***Commander***
1.The MEDWAY	60 guns	Commodore Peyton's flagship
2.The PRESTON	50 guns	Captain Northesk
3.The HARWICH	50 guns	Captain Carteret
4.The WINCHESTER	50 guns	Captain Bertil
5.TheMEDWAY'S PRIZE	40 guns	Captain Griffith
6.The LIVELY	20 guns	Captain Stevens
7.Total English:	270 guns	1,660 men with
	MARINE	**ROYALE**
1. L' ACHILLES	70 guns	flagship of La Bourdonnais
2. Le BOURBON	42 ports but 34 guns.	
3.Le PHENIX	44 ports but 38 guns.	
4.Le NEPTUNE	36 ports but 30 guns.	
5. Le SAINT-LOUIS	36 ports but 26 guns.	
6.Le LYS	36 ports but 24 guns.	
7. Le DUC D'ORLEANS	36 ports but 24 guns.	
8.La RENOMÉE	28 ports but 24 guns.	
9. L'INSULAIRE	30 ports but 20 guns.	
French total: [crews and embarked troops]	The French were more numerous in strength and had 20 more artillery pieces, but their weak caliber gave them a marked inferiority compared to the 270 British guns that were much more powerful and long-range.	3,342 men, 1/4 of whom are Africans.

It was decided to retreat southwards, abandoning Madras which he had been tasked with protecting and conceding control of the seas to the French in the Indian Ocean. The French began by

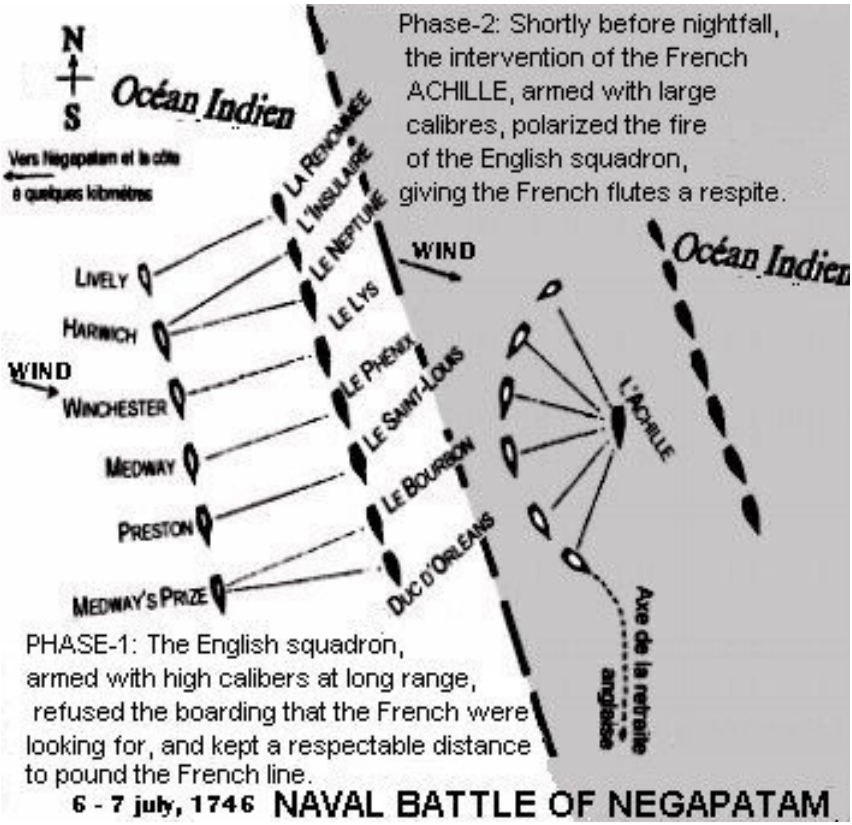
pursuing the English squadron, then they realized that they had only two days' supply and little ammunition left, and that on the other hand, they were in danger of falling to leeward of Pondicherry and thus not being able to return. They therefore turned back to Pondicherry, after having taken the dismasted INSULAIRE in tow. They arrived at Pondicherry on the evening of the 8th. On 19 August, La Bourdonnais learned that the English squadron was again tacking off Negapatam. He immediately sailed to this sector and hoisted the Dutch flag to attract the English, but the English squadron did not let itself be deceived and stalled. La Bourdonnais waited there for 48h and returned to Pondicherry where he arrived on the evening of the 25th.

Casualties ♦About 30 killed and 50 wounded on both sides

As a result of this English defeat, the French had a clear way to reinforce the ground troops, which allowed them to lay siege to Madras and capture the city. "With strange pusillanimity, Commodore Peyton sailed to Trinquemalé to repair the paltry damage inflicted during the battle, leaving Pondicherry unscathed and Madras unprotected against French attacks"[410]. The British Commodore was censured and recalled after this withdrawing against the French. After the engagement, Peyton was discredited by the *British East India Company* and replaced by Commodore Thomas Griffin, who placed Peyton *under arrest* and sent him back to England. However, the record suggests there were no formal charges and no actual court-martial pursued against him. Peyton died in 1749, reportedly a “broken man,” and the affair seems to have ruined his career even without a trial.

[410] Wrote an English historian.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦La Bourdonnais. a lecture delivered in the Dalhousie Institute, the **13th November 1865, by George Bruce Malleson, Published by The Military Orphan Press, Calcutta, 1865.** ♦Mahé de La Bourdonnais, gouverneur général des Iles de France et de **Bourbon, 16991753, Pierre Crépin, Editions Leroux, Paris, 1922.** ♦Mémoires historiques **de Bertrand François Mahé de la Bourdonnais collected and published by his grandson, Louis** Charles Mahé de la Bourdonnais, Paris, 1827. ♦Letters from Mauritius in the Eighteenth **Century ... including an account of Labourdonnais' capture of Madras, Charles Grant, introduction by Sir John Pope Hennessy, K.C.M.G., published in Mauritius, 1886.** ♦Mahé de **la Bourdonnais, gouverneur des Mascareignes, Dureau Reydellet, Éditions CNH, Saint-Denis, La Réunion, 1993.** ♦Mauritius, Mahé de La Bourdonnais. Documents collected by the **Bicentennial Committee of La Bourdonnais, 11 February 1899, with annotations by the** Committee of Historical Recollections, Editions E. Pezzani, L. L'Homme, Port Louis, 1899.



Siege of Nieuwpoort.

Date of the action : 30 August 5 September 1745.

Location : Nieuwpoort, Belgium. Geographical coordinates: 51°08' north latitude, and 02° 45' east longitude. [See the toponymic map of Flanders located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend, from 10 to 23 August 1745]

Background: The conquest of Ostend was followed by the conquest of Nieuwpoort.

Nieuwpoort-Veurne sector. Public Archives of Nieuwpoort.

Chiefs in attendance ♦*French* : General Lowendal.

Numbers engaged ♦unknown with precision. The garrison numbered 3,000 to 4,000 men (estimation).

Strategy or Tactics : The successive capture by the French of all the Dutch cities of Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, Queen of Hungary [whose garrison were partly British], would allow Louis XV to consolidate his northern borders. The large Anglo-Allied relief Army, established behind the Vilvoorde Canal, between Brussels and Vilvoorde, did not intervene. In the field of tactics and military organization it is worth mentioning Frederick II the Great[411], King of Prussia, who made that country a great power. Fernand Schneider sums up the military role of Frederick of Prussia as follows: "Drawing on the ideas of the great leaders of the seventeenth century, and commanding the best-trained army of his time, Frederick the Great—indisputable commander of his country and his troops—had the advantage of facing a poorly united coalition. A great captain, he was not, however, truly an innovator. In short, there was no distinct "Prussian school" of warfare, only the personality and genius of Frederick himself. Once he was gone, Prussia's armies lapsed into striking mediocrity, while it was, ironically, French ideas that endowed the military thinkers of a dying regime with an indisputable vitality—ideas that, by a cruel twist of fate, would inspire the studious youth of the future Napoleon."

Summary of the action: Lowendal opened the trench on 31 August. On 5 September, the garrison was a prisoner of war in France.

Casualties ♦unknown.

Consequence of this Anglo-Allied defeat: Of all the country that Maria Theresa of Austria, Queen of Hungary, possessed from the Dender to the sea, only the city of Ath remained.

[411] Frederick II the Great (1712-1786) was born in Berlin and became King of Prussia in 1740. Of French culture as were the royal courts of Europe at the time, he was nevertheless a great enemy of France.

SOURCES &FURTHER READINGS ♦A General view of the present politics and interests of the principal powers of Europe : particularly of those at war, wherein the nature of the peace to be expected on the conclusion of the war, and the conduct of those who chiefly contributed to the successes of France, are impartially considered, **in a letter from The Hague to a foreign minister at London, publié par W. Webb, Londres, 1747. ♦Jacques Victor Albert duc de Broglie,** *Maurice de Saxe et le Marquis d'Argenson*, **2 volumes, Paris, 1891.**

Map of the location of the main toponyms in the Austrian Netherlands. Priv. coll.

Siege of Ostend.

Date of the action: 10 - 23 August 1745.

Location: Oostende, present-day Belgium. Geographical coordinates: 51° 13' north latitude, and 02° 55' east longitude.

Background: While Austria and its allies had their hands tied elsewhere, the French seized Ostend in order to conquer the Austrian Netherlands.

Chiefs in attendance ♦*French*: General de Lowendal.

Numbers present ♦5,000 Anglo-Allied soldiers in garrison, at the end of the siege.

Strategy or Tactics: The capture of Ostend was important because it provided the English with a foothold in all European conflicts. The garrison was numerous enough to hold out for a long time; but the English commander was unequal to the task[412].

Summary of the action: While the French occupied Dendermonde [Termonde], the French general Lowendal pressed the city of Ostend. Despite the difficulties of access, the garrison, composed of 4,000 men and continuously reinforced with fresh troops thanks to the presence of the sea and therefore of the English fleet,

[412] "Item, in doing so, that there be good commanders in each of the said places to amuse the enemy, or even to attempt to break up their army, as has happened in several places. And especially if the garrisons are strong and they come to besiege.'"" [Treatise on *the Art of War*, Bérault Stuart, Martinus Mijhoff, The Hague, p.16, lines 464-467]

capitulated on the 23rd, after 10 days of trenches. They left with the *Honours of War*.

Casualties: unknown.

Consequence of this English defeat: This conquest ensured the loss of the rest of the Austrian possessions in Flanders and deprived the English of the advantages of direct communication with the Netherlands.

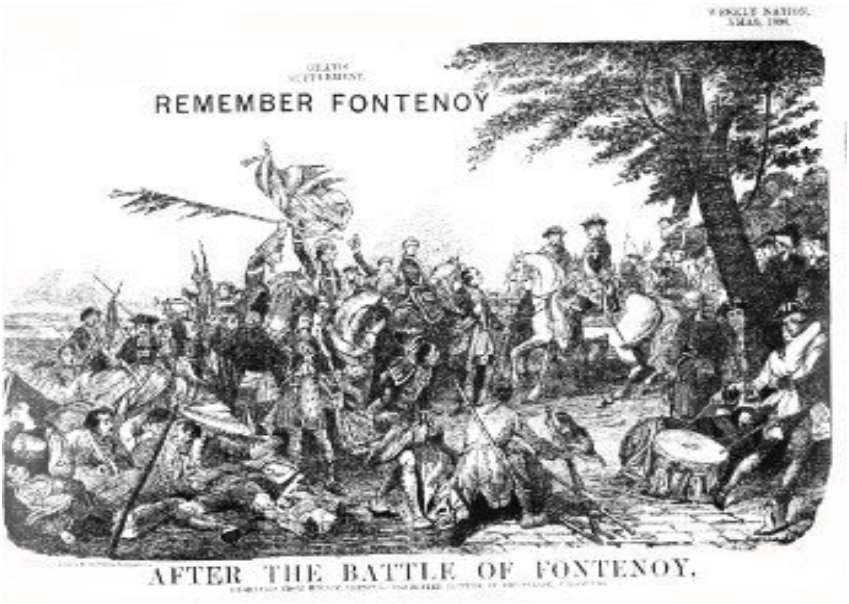
Fortifications of Ostend. Priv.Coll.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Acte royal du 27 août 1745, Au camp de Melis, *Lettre... à Mgr. l'archevêque de Paris* **[pour lui mander de faire chanter le Te Deum dans son diocèse, en action de grâces de la prise d'Ostende]**, **sans nom de publication. ♦Voltaire,** *Histoire de la guerre de 1741*, **Garnier frères, Paris, 1971. ♦***A Brief narrative of the late campaigns in Germany and Flanders : in a letter to a member of Parliament*, **Publié pour J. Lion, Londres, 1751. ♦Chevalier O'Hanlon,** *Collection historique, ou, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la guerre terminée par la Paix d'AixlaChapelle en 1748. Avec quelques plans gravés en tailledouce,* **publié à Londres, et se trouve à Paris, chez N.B. Duchesne, 1758.**

Siege of Oudenarde.

Date of the action: 18 - 21 July 1745.

Location: Oudenaarde; Flanders [present-day Belgium]. Geographical coordinates: 50° 51' north latitude, and 03° 36' east longitude. [See the toponymic map of Flanders located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend, from 10 to 23 August 1745]



After the annexation of Ireland by England [Act of Union, 2 July 1800 voted by London, to which the Dublin Act of Union of 1 August 1800, voted by the Anglo-Protestant "elected" who had appropriated Ireland for themselves.], this English newspaper shows *the Irish Brigade of the French army* celebrating the Victory of Fontenoy [in 1745]. This propaganda page published by a London Magazine was intended to incite the English and Scottish settlers of Ireland to inflict reprisals on Irish Catholics who were fighting against annexation. Which they did not fail to do. UQAM

Context: Bruges capitulated on the 18th and on the night of the 18th to the 19th, Louis XV had the trench opened in front of Oudenarde.

Commanders in attendance ♦General de Lowendal commanded the French troops.

Troops engaged ♦Garrison, 2,500 men.

Strategy or Tactics: The morale of the English army seemed to be severely shaken by the defeat at Fontenoy, and the strategic and tactical consequences were being felt.

Summary of the action: Lowendal, whom Louis XV had charged with conducting this siege, pressed this place with such vivacity that the allied governor capitulated on the 3rd day and surrendered himself as a prisoner of war with his garrison of five battalions[413]. The breach batteries barely had time to go into action.

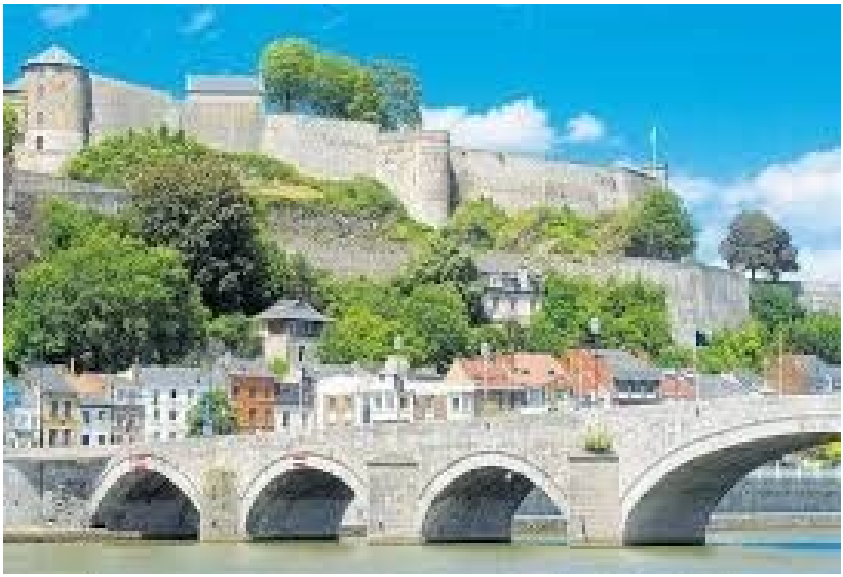
Casualties ♦unknown.

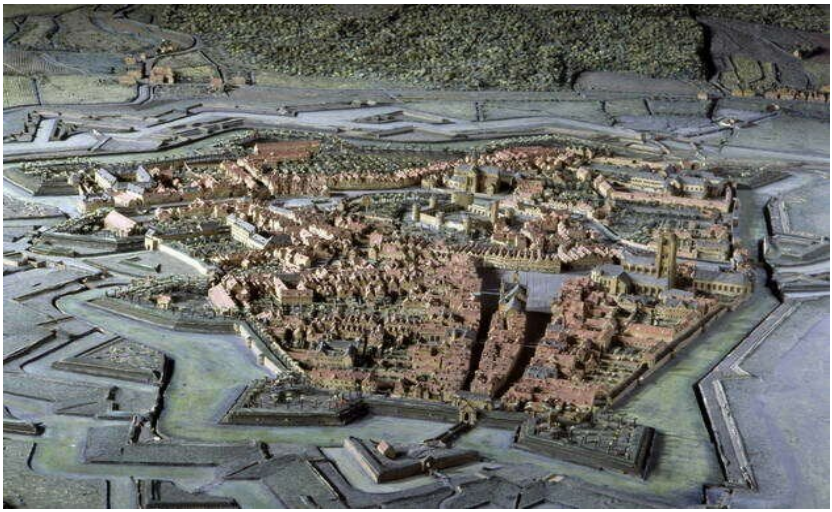
As a consequence of this Anglo-Allied defeat, Oudenarde and the entire sector were attached to France.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Victor Derode, ***Histoire de Lille et de la Flandre Wallonne*** (2 tomes), Librairie Vanackère, Lille, 1819. ♦William Rutherford Hayes Trowbridge, ***A Beau Sabreur, Maurice de Saxe, Marshal of France, his loves, his laurels and his times, 16961750***, T. Fisher, Londres & Leipsig, 1909. ♦Leslie Heber Thornton, ***Campaigners Grave & Gay. Studies of four soldiers [Maurice de Saxe, Sir R. R. Gillespie, Lord Peterborough, James Wolfe]***, University Press, Cambridge, 1925. ♦De Noailles, ***Mémoires***, Paris, 1710.

[413] Whose total strength totaled about 2,500 men.

Mons Fortress (Priv.Coll)





Battle of Outatour.

Date of the action: 10 - 13 July 1751.

Location: Utatur. Town located 40 km from Trichinopoly, Indian Carnatic[414].

Conflict: The French and English were officially at peace.

Background: Following the Battle of Volcondah with the Franco-Indians, English troops retreated at high speed. It was at midnight that Gingens set his troops on the march, unbeknownst to the Franco-Indians, taking advantage of the secret of the night. They arrived the next evening at the Strait of Outatour, on the road to Trichinopoly.

Chiefs in presence ♦*Franco-Indians*: Chanda-Sahïb[415]. ♦*Anglo-Indians*: Captain Jean Rodolphe de Gingens, Swiss mercenary officer.

Troops engaged ♦*English*: 1600 men including 500 Europeans.

Strategy or Tactics: This strait of Outatour, which we should call a pass, was in fact a rather narrow passage between two mountain ranges; ranges that bordered the province of Arcate [Arcot] to the west. A few hills formed the other jaw of this 1500-metre-wide strait. Beyond these hills, the ground, for several miles to the east,

[414] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.
[415] Chanda Shahïb was the Nabob of Carnatic between 1749 and 1752. His real name was Husayn Dost Khan. He was the son-in-law of the former Carnatic mogul Dost Ali Khan under whom he had worked as a Duan.

was covered with rocks; impassable for an army encumbered with impedimenta and wagons. A company of 100 Grenadiers, reinforced by 100 Kaffirs and Topasses[416] with two field pieces, was left with Captain Dalton as an outpost in a village situated at the entrance to the straits. The rest of the English army posted itself in the valley, and, in order to watch the rear of the camp, some Europeans were placed in the fort of Outatour, situated 3 km south of the strait.

Summary of the action : The next day, the French realized that the English had decamped and, without a hurry, set out in pursuit of them in the direction of Trichinopoly. They stopped at a spring located 13 km from the strait. Shortly afterwards, the English saw a squadron of Franco-Muslim cavalry in sight of the village where the Anglo-Indian army had entrenched itself. The hundred or so horsemen began to brave, provoke, and insult the English. Captain Gingens, who was in that sector at the time, displayed an emotionality not very compatible with his rank[417]; he turned pale under the

[416] As mentioned above, the Kaffirs [les Cafres or Caffres] were black African auxiliary soldiers imported by the English from Eastern Africa. The Kaffiria was a Bantu-speaking region of East Africa, located south of the equator. This word is of Arabic origin. The latter had been supplying themselves with slaves in these regions from time immemorial until the middle of the twentieth century. Slaves were then centralized in Zanzibar. Today, the name Kafrerie or Cafrerie refers to only two sub-regions of the Cape of Good Hope province. The Topasses: Portuguese mestizos [Christians] who took this nickname from their hats. The success of the proselytizing of the Iberian missionaries [Spanish and Portuguese] was greatly aided by the fact that, when the Spanish and Portuguese soldiers set out to conquer the Indies, some of them carried religious fervor very far; they vowed to massacre 12 non-Christian Indians a day in honor of the twelve apostles of Christ. These "evangelizing" methods were enough to lead to mass conversions because only "non-Christians" were offered as sacrifices. Let's hope that this anecdote is just a legend...

[417] Probably because of his humiliating failure before Outatur and his ensuing forced retreat. This weakness [intoxicating anger] was strongly stigmatized by Sun Tzu in his Art of War [Principle 13 of Chapter X, The Terrain]: "When the superior officers are furious... and that, finding themselves facing the enemy, they rush into battle without asking themselves whether the engagement has any chance of succeeding... The army is collapsing." Another ancient Chinese, Tu Yu [735812 A.D.], a commentator on the former, wrote in his work "T'ung Tien": "An impulsive man may be stirred up to fury and driven to die. He who is easily angry is irritable, obstinate; and he acts in haste. It does not take into account the difficulties." In the case of Gingens, perhaps also this Swiss mercenary officer felt obliged to be patriotic in front of his soldiers by showing more patriotism than was necessary, under the provocative insults addressed to the English.

childish insults, and, in company with seven officers, 12 whites and 100 Sepoys, galloped furiously against the squadron which waited for the English to approach, then began to fall back, stopping from time to time to encourage them to continue their attack and to move away more and more from their starting base. The trap was sewn with white thread, and even quite obvious to a person whose judgment is not blinded by anger, but the sense of honor can be a bad advisor, especially for a man, an officer, who must constantly prove that he is not a coward. At 1,500 m from the village, the squadron disappeared at full speed. The English then turned back to realize that a Corps of 3,000 Muslim Cavalry, coming out of a nearby forest, was desperately blocking their way. It was a classic ambush, and Captain Gingens must have blamed himself for having given it his head for a few trivial insults, the bait of the trap. The Sepoys dispersed, while the Whites and Topasses attempted to break through the enemy line. Carried away by their momentum, they succeeded, but not without heavy casualties. Lieutenant Maskelyne and three other horsemen were taken prisoner. On July 13, the entire Franco-Indian army advanced ready for battle, hoping that the Anglo-Indians would come to fight in the open-field. Several detachments of Cavalry, which preceded the line of battle, came to attack the flanks of the village. Shortly afterwards, 4,000 French Sepoys approached, supported by 100 Topasses in good order. The rest of the Cavalry also followed and concentrated, with the exception of a few squadrons which went to post themselves between the village and *the straits* [the pass]. Captain Dalton was at last ordered to abandon his village outpost and to fall back towards the Anglo-Indian army, which had advanced a little to facilitate and accompany the withdrawal of Dalton's outpost. To hide his retreat, Dalton had his detachment withdrawn, leaving the two pieces of artillery as cover, which fell back afterward. As soon as the Franco-Muslims understood that the English were retreating, they opened a hellish fire from the houses [huts]

of the village located behind Dalton. At the same time, their Cavalry attacked in two columns, which, by symmetrical turning movements, assaulted[418] the flanks of the entrenched village and surrounded it. The dense fire of the English opened a gap in the ranks of these cavalrymen, which allowed them to break through and pass before the enemy Cavalry closed the gap.

The Kaffirs, the Topasses, and a platoon of Europeans maintained a constant fire, while the European Grenadiers kept their weapons loaded in case of a general rush of Franco-Muslim Cavalry. The British army thus retreated to the entrance of the strait [of the Pass between two hills], leaving its dead and wounded on the ground. There, the rocks and boulders prevented the Franco-Muslim Cavalry from charging in compact squadrons. The English were then able to slow down and take care of some of their wounded. Little by little, this rearguard joined the main body of the English army which had lined up 8 pieces of field artillery, and which finally seemed determined to hold on to the ground. The artillery dug bloody gaps in the Franco-Muslim squadrons which retreated in disorder behind the village where the French had settled, and which, as a result, the English did not attack. Night fell quickly and it was necessary to wait until the next day to resume the offensive. In fact, during the night, the English army quietly withdrew in order to resume its retreat and buy time before the French noticed it.

Casualties ♦*French*: unknown. ♦*English*: During the first engagement, all the Sepoys were killed or captured by the French and incorporated into the French army. Maskelyne was later released on parole.

[418] In a pincer.

Consequence of this English defeat: The English army marched without any pause until... 2 p.m. the next afternoon This 4 p.m. march was carried out without refreshment, under the blazing sun of the Indian summer, with the Franco-Indian Cavalry harassing the rearguard and seizing the stragglers, until they arrived, exhausted, under the guns of Trichinopoly.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Marcel de Fréville de Lorme, ***Une armée coloniale au XVIIIe siècle; Dupleix aux Indes***, in Revue des questions historiques, Paris, octobre 1904. ♦Kali Chorone Kormocar, ***Chandernagor et Dupleix***, Science News, Calcutta, 1963. ♦Henry Love, ***Vestiges of Old Madras***, Vol.II, Londres. ♦Colonel G.B. Malleson CSI, ***History of the French in India***, John Grant, Édimbourg, 1909. ♦***A complete history of the War in India from 1749 to 1761***, *with an accurate detail of Colonel Clive's military* ***transactions***, Londres, 1761

Battle of the River Panar.

Date of the action: 20 December 1746.

Location: Pounar or Pennar or Ponnar or Punar, river now called Ponnaiyar. Coromandel coast, in the Indian Carnatic. The fortress of Saint-David was located about 20 km south of Pondicherry and 3 km north of Gondelour. The fort was built in the valley where the Panar River flowed. Geographical coordinates: 11°47' north latitude, and 79°44' east longitude[419].

Context: Madras, the capital of British India, had just been taken by the French. That was a real national disaster for England, which had only Fort Saint-David in the Indian Carnatic. Fort Saint-David was therefore located 160 km south of Madras. He was named for the patron saint of Wales by the then governor of Madras, Elihu Yale, who was Welsh.

Commanders ♦*Anglo-Indian*: The Anglo-Indian army was commanded by the nawab [or nawwab, or nabob] of Carnatic, Chanda Shahïb[420]. ♦*French* by General Jean-Baptiste de Bury de Saint-Fulgence, an old officer who, sometimes, lacked initiative.

Forces enlisted ♦*Anglo-Indian*: 300 Europeans and 1000 auxiliaries [called *Péons*[421]] garrisoned at Fort Saint-David. The nabob's

[419] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.
[420] Chanda Shahïb was the Nabob of Carnatic between 1749 and 1752. His real name was Husayn Dost Khan. He was the son-in-law of the former Carnatic mogul Dost Ali Khan under whom he had worked as a Duan.
[421] The European troops serving in the English colonies of Indostan were never entirely composed of national troops. On the contrary, at least half consisted of men from all the nations of Europe. The Christians, of mixed Indo-European origin who called themselves Portuguese, still formed a part of

army: 6,000 Cavalry and 3,000 Infantry. In total: 10,300 men. ♦*French*: 900 Europeans, 600 natives [Indians], 100 African Kaffirs, 6 field guns, 6 mortars. Total 1,600 men.

Strategy or Tactics: The French, caught in the middle of their sleep, managed to pull themselves together and rout the Anglo-Indian army, thanks to a few artillery pieces hastily placed in battery. The English had bought the site of Fort Saint-David in 1691 and had fortified it little by little. This fort had been erected by the English, south of Pondicherry, to limit French territory on the southern side, while Madras limited it to the north. So, strategically speaking, this 💪 was very important since he had to control French territory. In this year 1746, its role became crucial, because Madras had just been taken by the French, and it remained the only real English stronghold in the Indian subcontinent. Fort Saint-David, very close to the battlefield of The Panar River, formed a regular pentagon with a fairly solid bastioned enclosure.

This fort, located 20 km south of Pondicherry, was modest in size but better fortified than any other of its size in India and now served as a citadel and refuge for the territory of the English company. Immediately south [1.5 km] was Gondelour, where the company's leading Indian merchants and many of the company's native employees resided.

Summary of the action : The French arrived on December 19th in front of Fort Saint-David. General de Bury crossed the Panar River after a short fight and captured a walled garden 1,500 yards from

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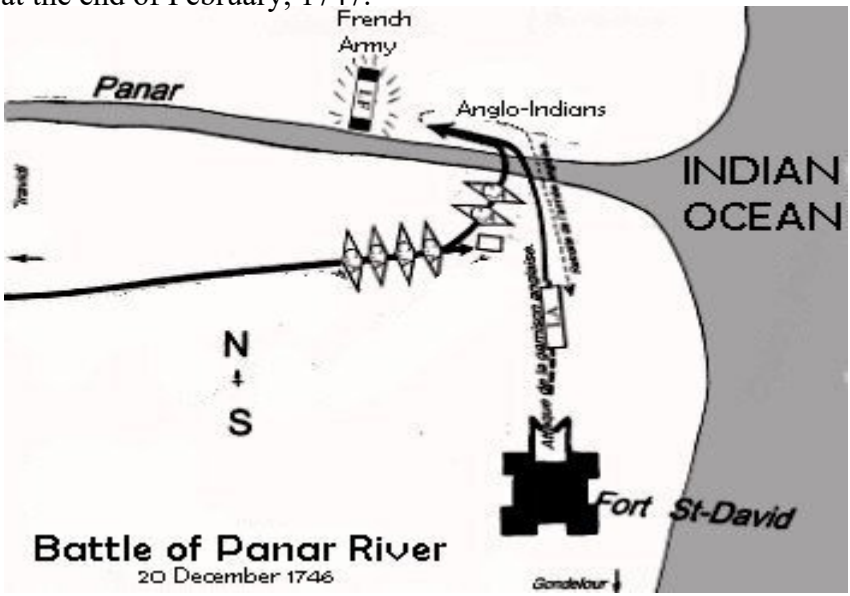
the local garrisons. They were considered by the English to be very average troops, but knowing how to parade or carry out close orders like the Europeans, they were incorporated into European units. As they wore a hat, these so-called Portuguese had been given by the Indians the name of Topasses. The native Indians and the European-trained Moors were called Sepoys. They wore Indian dress and were commanded by junior officers of the same religion. Other Indian troops, the Peons, fought in the Indian style and used their own weapons [firearms but also, sabres, swords, bows, pikes...]

the fort. Feeling safe, Bury did not impose strict discipline and above all did not place any sentinels, knowing that the troops of the Nabob Anaverdikan were in danger of attacking him. At Fort Saint-David remained an English garrison of 300 Europeans, and the English had just concluded a defensive alliance with the nawwab of Carnatic, whose troops the French had just beaten on a few occasions. It was agreed between the Indians and the English that, when the French attacked Fort Saint-David [and Gondelour], the nabob's troops would come to surprise the French by attacking them from the rear, in a pincer movement. In the middle of the night, the French troops were bivouacking without any sentinels, when the Nabob's troops attacked[422], commanded by his two sons. The French infantrymen were caught asleep, so some units got up and disbanded in the direction of the river, towards Pondicherry, to take refuge on the other side of the river. Fortunately for them, the artillerymen and some other troops did not lose their cool. They succeeded in getting a few pieces of artillery across the river, and, by heavy anti-personnel fire, stopped the nabob's army, which was beginning to pursue the fugitives. The English garrison at Fort St. David also arrived shortly afterwards to take part in the Battle of the Panar River. The French had retreated upstream to give themselves time to regroup. There, French officers managed to rally their men to face the newly arrived English and the pursuing Nabob's troops, and soon the French troops were in an offensive position. Then, seeing their determination, the British and Indian forces halted, and began in their turn to fall back towards Gondelour, and then towards Ariakupum where they arrived the same evening. Instead of returning to besiege Fort Saint-David, French General de Bury had his army encamped on the battlefield for three weeks. Then he himself returned to Pondicherry.

[422] With 6000 cavalry and 3000 infantry.

Casualties ♦The French had lost 12 killed and 120 wounded. ♦Anglo-Indian casualties amounted to just over 2,000 men [killed or wounded] mostly Indian.

As a consequence of this English defeat, Dupleix succeeded in giving this modest battle the publicity of a great military and especially diplomatic victory. It helped to detach the Nabob Anaverdikan from the English. The latter undertook to "abandon the English to their fate and to renounce Madras in favour of the French." Mafauz Khan, the eldest son of the Nabob of Carnatic, came in person to sign the treaty of alliance with the French at Pondicherry at the end of February, 1747.



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Battle of the Panar River.

Date of the action: 30 July 1750.

Location: River of the Indian Carnatic. The Panar or Punar is now called Ponnaiyar. Geographical coordinates at the mouth: 11° 46' north latitude, and 79° 47' east longitude[423].

Conflict: England and France had been officially at peace since 1748.

Context: After seizing the Mazulipatam factoriy, Dupleix decided to act in the vicinity of Pondicherry. Shortly after Nazir Jung had left for Arcate and the English for Fort Saint-David, the French Governor ordered d'Auteuil to cross the Panar River with 500 men to seize the fortified pagoda of Tiravidi [Tiruvadi], 20 km from Gondelour [Cuddalore], and almost within sight of MohamedAli. His aim was to procure a foothold on the Panar which would secure for him the upper hand over the surrounding country. After taking the city without encountering any notable resistance, and having placed a garrison of 20 Frenchmen, 20 Topasses [Indo-Portuguese Métis] and 50 Sepoys, d'Auteuil continued the course of his conquests. Frightened by the capture[424] of the fortified pagoda of Tiravidi, Nazir Jung sent 20,000 men as reinforcements to Muhammad Ali. The English added 400 Europeans and 1,500 Sepoys commanded by Captain Cope. This army took up position on 30 July, not far from the French Corps of 410 Europeans, which it found on the Panar River, 10 km from Gondelour. Despite the

[423] See the toponymic map in the chapter of the battle of La Pnar, 13 April 1753.
[424] By the French.

overwhelming superiority of the Anglo-Indian army, the French decided not to retreat, and, on the contrary, to hold their position and hold on to the ground, if necessary.

Commanders ♦*English*: captain Cope. The Prince Mohamed-Ali. ♦*French*: Comte Combault d'Auteuil (Louis Hubert de Combault comte d'Auteuil.)

Troops engaged: ♦*French*: 410 European regular soldiers. ♦*Anglo-Indians*:21,900 soldiers, including 400 Europeans and 1,500 Sepoys trained in the European style.

Strategy or Tactics: The overwhelming disproportion of forces in favour of the Anglo-Indians was a cause of demoralization for the latter after their defeat. The position of the French was not very strong because of its natural situation, but they were strongly entrenched.

Summary of the action: To lure the French out of their entrenchments, Captain Cope attempted a ruse. He advised Muhammad Ali to go and attack Tiravidi in the hope that the French would leave their entrenched positions to go to the relief of that city. The English could thus have occupied the empty positions of the French [the pagoda], and prevent them from returning to it. Mohamed Ali therefore went to Tiravidi and started besieging the fortified pagoda, but d'Auteuil did not allow himself to be taken in by this subtle tactic. In Tiravidi, Mohamed Ali, unable to take the pagoda, despite the relative insignificance of the French garrison [20 French soldiers, 20 Topasses and 20 Sepoys] returned to his original entrenchments and Captain Cope gave him notice to open a bombardment upon the French positions. The French returned a heavy fire, and their fire was so accurate that after six hours of artillery shelling in both directions, the Anglo-Indians retreated, leaving a considerable number of killed and wounded on the field.

French Casualties were light but the number of French soldiers was too small to allow to risk a pursuit against such a large force.

Casualties: ♦Paradoxically, French casualties were low, owing to the inaccuracy of the English artillery fire. ♦Anglo-Indian casualties were considerably higher, though not precisely recorded[425].

Consequence of this English defeat: This defeat threw distrust between the Indians and their English allies. Considering himself no longer safe from the attacks of the French as long as he was in the open country, Muhammad Ali announced that he intended to shut himself up in Arcate. Seeing that Muhammad Ali no longer wanted to listen to the advice of the British or advance funds, the latter, whom he now distrusted, returned to Fort Saint-David, abandoning the Indian army [20,000 men] which was attacked by the French the next day, September 1st, and routed after leaving more than 1000 dead and many wounded on the field. The French army [which carried out this mission], sent by Dupleix on a forced march, consisted of 1,300 Europeans commanded by d'Auteuil, 2,500 Sepoys under the command of La Touche, and 1000 Cavalry commanded by Chanda-Sahïb. In fact, these forces were reinforcements sent in haste to the aid of Auteuil. This second battle, which came out of the first, had a considerable effect on the Indian princes. It restored to the French an extraordinary ascendancy and placed Chanda Sahïb in a position which enabled him to assert his legitimate rights to the throne of Carnatic, while his rival Muhammad Ali, who two months before had almost seen himself master of the province with the exception of the territories ceded to the French and the English, saw his hopes dwindle.

[425] Figures are nor quantified.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦*Auguste Toussaint,* Histoire de l'Î***le Maurice****, Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1971.* ♦*Robert Orme,* ***A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, from the Year*** *MDCCXLV* **[1745]** ***to Which is Prefixed a Dissertation on the Establishments made by Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan,*** *2 volumes, 4e Édition revue et corrigée, Pharaoah and Co, Madras, 1861.*

After Aurangzeb's death (1707), the Muslim Mughals empire fractured in India. Aurangzeb's long wars against the Hindu Marathas had drained resources, and its harsh Islamic policies alienated Hindus. By 1750, the Muslim Mughals were weak, and regional states (Hyderabad, Bengal, Awadh, Mysore, Punjab, Maratha Confederacy, Sikh) competed for dominance. By 1750, European involvement (French, British, Portuguese, and Dutch) was no longer limited to trade: British East India Company (EIC) and *Compagnie françaises des Indes* were competing violently for influence, especially in the Carnatic region Their rivalry is known as the *Carnatic Wars* (1746–1763), which coincided with European wars (War of Austrian Succession, Seven Years' War).

Battle of the Panar River.

Date of the action: April 13th, 1753.

Location: Pounar, Punar; The Indian Carnatic River, now called Ponnaiyar, located 40 km south of Pondicherry. Geographical coordinates of the mouth: 11°46' north latitude, and 79°47' east longitude.

Conflict : Colonial rivalries. France and England had officially been at peace since the end of the War of the Austrian Succession, which ended with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748].

Context: At the beginning of 1753, the usual annual reinforcements had not reached the Indies. Le PRINCE had burned at sea in 1752, with 700 soldiers as well as the valiant La Touche whose mission was to replace the plethora of incompetent commanders. Thus, at the beginning of 1753, Dupleix had only 360 French soldiers, 2,000 Sepoys and 4,000 Mahratta Cavalry[426]. Major Lawrence, for his part, had more than 700 European soldiers, 2,000 Sepoys and 1,500 Muhammad Ali Cavalry.

Commanders present ♦Captain Jacques Maissin[427]; Prince Murari Rao. ♦English: Major Lawrence

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[426] Those of Murari Rao, who had gone over to the French camp.

[427] Jacques Maissin (1721 -1803) was an infantry officer in the service of the **French East India Company** (or its militia) during operations in India. He was appointed "former major general of the troops of the East India Company in India, colonel of infantry, commander of the militias of the Rivière-Noire. He wrote a manuscript entitled *Recherche de la Vérité* ("Search for Truth"), in which he critically presented his observations of South India—especially its religious doctrines and traditions—comparing them with European works of the time. This manuscript is valuable for historians

Troops engaged ♦*Franco-Indian* : 3,360 men and 360 Europeans only. ♦*Anglo-Indians*: 4,200 men, including 700 Europeans, the hard core of the armies of the time in the East.

Strategy or Tactics: What made the difference between the two armies, at the time, was the number of Europeans trained in disciplined combat. In order to strengthen the English lines of communication, the British General Staff decided to destroy the main French stronghold that threatened them. But the attempt was not crowned with success. This bastion consisted of a parapet[428], doubled by a wide and deep ditch and reinforced from time to time by redoubts and a good glacis; the whole defended by about thirty pieces of artillery.

Summary of the action: Dupleix sent Maissin and Murari Rao, on January 14, to entrench themselves on the Panar River. This area was near Tiravidi [Trivadi], 10 km from Fort Saint-David, and very close to where D'Auteuil had defeated the Englishman Cope and his ally Mohamed Ali in July 1750. From these entrenchments, the French began to harass the British logistical lines of communication between Tiravidi and Fort St. David. This lasted three long months. On 12 April 1753, a convoy heavily escorted by the English was harassed by French elements. Lawrence, reinforced by 200 Europeans from Madras, then decided to attack the French entrenched camp. On 13 April 1753 he approached the French camp with two strong 24-pounder guns to pound it. The French retaliated. After a fairly prolonged fight, Major Lawrence retreated and the English lines of communication continued to be harassed and threatened. To escort the next convoy of supplies, Major Lawrence assembled a full English army, hoping that the French detachment would attack it. He received a reinforcement of 200 Europeans

because Maissin paid close attention to realities on the ground and often corrected European misconceptions about India.

[428] Which served as a curtain wall.

from Fort Saint-David and his European battalion. The Franco-Mahrattes were waiting for them. The convoy was therefore first hooked by horsemen. He was moving at a very slow speed. The weather was unbearably hot, so much so that several men were stricken with sunstroke. Four or five kilometers from Tiravidi, the Franco-Sepoy detachment formed up on the right of the English convoy. The English were therefore advancing on the left, along the Gondelour River. As soon as their position was taken, the French advanced and an intense artillery exchange took place. Major Lawrence then counter-attacked with his forces —numerically much larger — and the Franco-Indians were forced to retreat to their own entrenched camp near the village of Caryamungalum. Lawrence occupied the village and had a battery of two "18-pounderers" installed which opened fire to pound the French entrenchments at a distance of only 200 meters. The bombardment was extremely heavy, but the French clung to the ground and refused to give up an inch. In the end, in spite of the numbers that favored the English, Major Lawrence did not want to risk his troops in a hand-to-hand attack; he abandoned the siege and ordered a general retreat.

As a consequence of this English failure, the French continued their harassment maneuvers by cutting the English logistical lines.

SOURCES & READINGS : ♦Robert Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, from the Year* MDCCXLV *[1745] to Which is Prefixed a Dissertation on the Establishments made by Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan,* 2 volumes, 4e Édition revue et corrigée, Pharaoah and Co, Madras, 1861. ♦Tibulle Hamont, Un essai d'empire français dans l'Inde au dixhuitième siècle: Dupleix, d'après sa correspondance inédite, Plon, Paris, 1888. ♦Alfred Martineau, Dupleix et l'Inde française, E. Champion, Paris, 1920.

AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION
WAR
Placenames map.
Tripetty
Pulicat
Madras
Vellore
Ambour
Arcate
Conjeveraran
Vendalore
Covelong
Trivatore
Chingleput
Tripatore
Carangoolie
Sadras
Wandiwash
Palar R.
Chittapett
Alamparvah
Trinomali
Gingi
Permacoil
Vicravandi
Valdore
Pondichéry
Trivady
Villenour
Thiagar
Ft. St-David
Bahour
Gondelour
Attour
Volgondah
Chillumbrum
Devicotah
Outtatour
Samiaveram
R. Coleroun
Tranquebar
Karikal
Trichinopoly
Tanjore
Négapatam
Maduré

Siege of Pondicherry.

Date of the action: 17 August 17 October 1748.

Location: Coromandel Coast[429]. Geographical coordinates: 11°56' north latitude, and 79°53' east longitude. The high dike built by the French during the time of the colony saved the city during the tsunami of 2004-2005 that killed 250,000 people around the Indian Ocean.

Background: Outraged at having been taken by the French in the capital of their Indian colonial empire [Madras], the British government and the East India Company were determined to strike the capital of the French Indies, Pondicherry. But, warned by the French intelligence services, Dupleix knew that a relief fleet had left England in November 1747 in order to retake Madras from the French and even to threaten Pondicherry. The dual command of the fleet and the army was entrusted to the 36-year-old rear-admiral, very young but of high birth, E. Boscawen, great-nephew of the famous Duke of Marlborough. On 15 Nov. 1747 Boscawen left England at the head of 8 warships and a convoy of 11 ships carrying 1500 regulars. The ships of this fleet arrived at Cap-de-Bonne-Espérance during the month of April 1748.

On 19 May, the British East India company fleet, swollen by 6 ships and 400 soldiers of the Dutch East India Company, sailed for the Mascarene Archipelago where it was sighted on 4 June. There, Boscawen was to suffer his first failure. The Anglo-

[429] Eastern coast of the Indian peninsula, Hindustan. See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, April 13, 1753.

Dutch fleet observed the Île-de-France for three days in order to find out where a landing could be made; but, realizing that each beach had been put in a state of defense by the French, a Council of War decided not to jeopardize the main mission[430] by weakening itself in vain attempts against this secondary objective. Some of the Dutch, dissatisfied, left the English, who sailed for the Indies. Boscawen made his junction with Admiral Griffith's squadron when he arrived at Fort Saint-David on 11 Aug. 1748, Boscawen, who had just joined Admiral Griffith, commanded the most powerful squadron to have visited India up to that time. The capture of Pondicherry was thus ensured by an army totaling 24,000 men, including nearly 4000 Europeans[431]. Never seen before in the Carnatic! Admiral Boscawen, who commanded the fleet and the army, decided to attack Ariancoupan[432] first. During the siege of Pondicherry, therefore, the attack on the outpost of ***Ariancoupan*** took place. Chefs in attendance ♦French garrison: commanded by Paradis. Dupleix was the French governor of the Indies; he took command on the death of Paradis on September 11.

Commanders ♦*French*: Law de Lauriston later commanded operations. Louis Paradis, a French officer in the service of the *Compagnie française des Indes orientales*. ♦*English*: Rear Admiral E. Boscawen commanded the Army and the Royal Navy. Admiral Edward Boscawen (1711–1761), nicknamed *"Old Dreadnought"* by his sailors, played an important—though not always decisive—role in India during this war.

Troops ♦French garrison at Pondicherry consisted of 1,800 Europeans and 3,000 Sepoys, i.e. 4,800 men. ♦The besieging British army consisted of 4,000 Europeans and 20,000 Indians, i.e. 24,000 men, not counting the Nabob's Cavalry. On 11 August, Admiral

[430] The capture of Pondicherry and Madras.
[431] 1,200 Dutch sent from Negapatam and 2800 English.
[432] A fairly elaborate redoubt [Pondicherry outpost], which some described as a fort.

Griffith's squadron[433] was reinforced by Boscawen's squadron[434]. The 8 warships and 11 transports carried 1,400 European soldiers. At the Cape of Good Hope they were joined by 6 ships with 400 soldiers of the Dutch East India Company; but, dissatisfied with the Allied failure before Port Louis, a part of the Dutch squadron had abandoned the English in the Indian Ocean.

Strategy or Tactics : From the first moments of his administration, Dupleix had completed the fortifications of Pondicherry. The curtain wall facing the sea had 2 demi-bastions, at both ends. On the other three facades, the city was defended by a rampart flanked by 11 bastions. The whole was surrounded by a ditch and an imperfect glacis. The inland-facing side was also reinforced by low batteries that could accommodate more than 100 guns. In addition to these fortifications, there was a very effective natural defense consisting of a ***thick hedge of thorny pepper trees***, a veritable network of barbed wire, which began at the seashore 1.5 km north of the city. This hedge surrounded it with a semi-circular defensive enclosure and stopped only at the fort of Ariancoupan on the banks of the river of the same name. This watercourse extended the line of natural defences to the sea. Inside this line of defense were inextricable woods of coconut and palm trees, which discouraged the enemy from entering them. After completing the work of reinforcing Ariancoupan, Paradis was appointed chief engineer of the fortifications of Pondicherry with the mission of defending them. Dupleix was warned by the French secret services that the English fleet was bringing many big gifts in order to win over to the English cause several Indian princes who were to provide them with native troops. The French therefore reinforced the post of Ariancoupan, an outpost not far from Pondicherry and very close to the sea. The fort

[433] 8 warships, the same as those of Negapatam on July 67, 1746, to which were added two ships of 60 and 40 guns

[434] 8 warships, including one of 74 guns, one of 64, 2 of 60, 2 of 50, one of 20 and one sloop of 14, a "bomb-ketch" [bomb-throwing ship] with her "tender", and a hospital ship.

was a triangle with few works inside and outside. Paradis had three *cavalier*s built, within the walls[435], a deep ditch and a *covered way*. The custody of this work was entrusted to the young Captain Law[436]. Pondicherry was built on the seashore, on the beach, in a green and fertile plain, which canals and rice fields strewed with their silvery plates; here and there a few nipples were outlined, covered with cocoa-nut trees. Long paths, shaded by the branches of dense trees, started from the ramparts and extended to the horizon. The city had no port but an open roadstead, less subject to the tide than that of Madras. To the south of the city is a natural barrier: the Ariancoupan, a small river flowing from west to east between steep-sided banks bristling with trees. Near the city, the banks widened to give way to several islands covered with coconut palms. To the north-west was a swamp which flowed into a stream, which flowed through the city and flowed into the Ariancoupan River just at its mouth with the sea. The ramparts followed Vauban's principles on some sides. The seafront rampart was, as its name indicates, parallel to the sea. In the center of the quadrangle of ramparts, a fort slightly dominated. The strength of this city lay in the breadth of the Western Front, its weakness in the lack of firepower at the northwest corner. Dupleix saw the fortress itself as a refuge in times of need[437], and as a set of supporting batteries for fortifications outside the walls, rather than as a line of defense. He had therefore built a whole system of redoubts, in crowns, within a fairly distant radius of the city. These outposts would serve to wear down the forces of the enemy, of the English, who, after suffering enormous human losses to seize them, would find themselves in front of the intact city walls. Dupleix also wanted, by frequent

[435] A *cavalier* is a raised embankment, used as an artillery platform.
[436] Nephew of the famous Scottish financier, of very sad memory for French savers.
[437] Traditionally, the French General Staffs, more inclined to the offensive than to the defensive, have considered forts as refuges in case of failure or as artillery support points. Many battles were fought in front of a French fort. The Maginot Line marked a change in mentality brought about by the human holocaust of the First World War. Tactically speaking, the English, for their part, almost always took defensive measures, while carrying out offensive strategic policies.

sorties and counter-attacks, to disorganize and destroy the trenches and the lines of circumvallation and even countervallation. Strategically speaking, Admiral Boscawen[438] tried, from the beginning, (in accordance with the orders received from London), to induce the Nabob to declare himself openly for the English, who were offering him extravagant "gifts" of substantial wealth and lavished upon him excessive consideration. But, bearing in mind Dupleix's prestige, the Nabob prudently remained neutral until the fall of the outpost of Ariancoupan. Believing, wrongly, that the god of war was now favouring the English, the Nabob then signed an alliance with the latter and provided them with 2,000 Cavalry. It should be noted that, throughout this siege, during which all the usual poliorcetic means were put in motion, the French made use of mobile batteries. Every night, when the battle had stopped, they left the city, approached the English lines and showered them with shrapnel in order to cause significant human losses and, as a result, a drop in the morale of the besiegers.

Summary of the action: On the morning of August 19th, an English force of 700 Europeans headed for the outpost of Ariancoupan. The reinforcement of the fortifications was unknown to Boscawen, and the English advanced, full of confidence in their success, as the French had done at Gondelour. The French held back their fire and allowed the English to approach to within a distance of about forty meters from this outpost. There, a discharge of shrapnel threw death and confusion into the ranks of the assailants. Totally caught off guard, the English remained pinned to the ground for a moment, lying on the ground. Curiously[439], they had not thought to bring *assault ladders* to climb the structure, and the chiefs were wondering what to do. But as the French continued to inflict a shower of

[438] Rear-Admiral Edgard Boscawen, great-nephew of the Duke of Marlborough, was born in 1711. He died in 1761.
[439] And this perhaps explains why the biography of Admiral Boscawen, great-nephew of the famous Duke of Marlborough, is embryonic in the Encyclopedia Britannica.

various projectiles on them, the English finally fled. They had lost 150 men through carelessness. Discouraged by this failure, the English made one or two more feeble[440] attempts and then decided to install a battery protected by an entrenchment. The English guns were manned by gunners from the Royal Navy. They were intended to open a breach, to cover possible assaults and to respond to a battery of large guns that the French had installed on the other bank of the small Ariancoupan River, north of the fort, in order to take the English attacks both from *enfilade* and *flank*. Finally, the French commander decided to attack the English battery. He launched an attack from the fort with 60 horses and 150 Infantry, with the support of the fires from the ramparts. The French, led by Law de Lauriston, successively seized all the English entrenchments: first those of the sailors of the Royal Navy, then those held by the Army. Many of the English laid down their arms and were captured, and the rest fled or were killed[441]. Faced with this last catastrophe and the loss of their artillery to the French, the English, demoralized, began to believe that the fort of Ariancoupan would never belong to them when an unforeseen accident changed the destiny of the fort: an accidental explosion in the powder magazine of the fort reduced this French outpost in a fraction of a second to a state of smoking ruin, killing or wounding a hundred soldiers. Deeming the defense impossible, Law blew up the walls still standing and withdrew towards Pondicherry. Immediately occupying the ruins of the fort, the English commander wasted 5 days in needless repairing the fortifications instead of immediately marching on Pondicherry. Finally, on September 6, Boscawen attacked again by seizing a redoubt situated at the northwest corner of the thorny wood described above. But it took 4 days for Boscawen to get to

[440] Which of course ended in failure, because the gods of war abhor half-measures.

[441] Among the prisoners was the illustrious Major Lawrence, already famous for his defence of St. David and Gondelour, and who was to become still more famous throughout the Indies. Probably as famous in his time as his namesake Lawrence of Arabia became two centuries later thanks to Holliwoodian fireworks. He remained a prisoner of the French until the end of the War of the Austrian Succession.

within about 1,500 yards of the covered way. The English then began to breach the Bastion Saint-Joseph. It was a very poorly chosen sector tactically, because the swamps protected the ramparts. Boscawen had wanted it so, thinking that this tactic... would prevent the French from launching *sorties*! The next day, September 11th, 150 men were ordered to establish themselves 100 meters nearer. It was on this day that the trench was opened by the English. Then Paradis made a double sortie with 1,200 men[442] in order to attack simultaneously both entrenchments. But, through the fault of the officer who served as guide[443], the column took the longest route and was seen by the English long before contact. The muddy ground slowed the progress of men and horsemen. The English had time to garrison their trenches with a host of defenders. The French then entered the village that constituted the first English line. A terrible fire fell on them, which caused the *sortie* to fail. Paradis was mortally wounded in the battle, and his troop, without a commander, was repulsed in disorder. Dupleix took command of the garrison, whose morale had been shaken by the death of Louis Paradis.

Time passed without any significant events. It had been almost 42 days since the trench was opened. The siege had been pushed forward with all possible vigor by the English. Clive, who also later became famous, was then serving in the trenches. The continual counter-attacks of the French delayed the English advance and destroyed their works of approach,… and their morale. The English had not yet managed to get closer than 800 meters to the walls. Then, they were stopped by a swamp and were forced to... raise their siege earthworks through additional embankments, their own batteries, and change direction altogether. Decidedly, Boscawen, although descended from the family which had

[442] The Grenadiers of de La Tour, the Dragoons d'Auteuil and the Volunteers of de Bussy; the latter were volunteers from the Isle de France or Mauritius.
[443] This mistake cost the life, among others, of Louis Paradis, an excellent officer full of promise.

produced[444] the greatest English captains, was not up to the task. The English set up batteries elsewhere and began shelling another sector of the city, the *Bastion Saint-Joseph*, in order to cover major earthworks. Fearing to see the unmasking of a whole artillery that would get the better of his rampart artillery, Dupleix had a series of batteries erected on the two curtain walls and on the corresponding glacis. He had another one erected 300 meters from the Madras Gate, intended to take the English trench in a sling. And, always concerned with maintaining the superiority of fire in artillery, he bristled with cannons two new works. He thus collected about thirty pieces of which the English did not suspect the existence. At night, the French brought out of the city field guns, which approached and relentlessly cannonaded the English camp located on the hillside near the village of Oulgaré. Constantly moved, these *mobile batteries* were inaccessible to the response of the English. The French also attacked the logistics convoys that carried the Royal Navy's ammunition to the landed army. One night, thanks to English sepoys who informed the French [445], the latter succeeded in capturing two magnificent pieces of 24-pounder artillery that had been landed from the English ships, and which were immediately turned against their former owners. Boscawen intensified the artillery pressure on the Bastion Saint-Joseph, vigorously covered by the bastion of the Porte de Valdaour, whose *enfilade fire* dismantled the English batteries. The English then crushed the bastion of Valdaour with cannonballs, the scarps of which collapsed, without preventing its artillery battery from retaliating. During the night, the French, who lacked sacks of earth, repaired the scarps with trunks of cocoa-nut trees, and in the morning everything was in a satisfactory condition. Although they concentrated the greater

[444] Or was to beget, since the Duke of Wellington was not to appear until half a century later. As for Sir Winston Churchill, who fought in the South African Boer War, he was only a great politician, without whom the British would probably have collaborated with Hitler as the British authorities were wont to do in the Channel Islands from 1940 to 1944."

[445] Madame Dupleix, who was Indian, spoke the language of the region perfectly and acted as an intermediary.

part of their artillery on the walls on the same side, the English batteries were soon dominated and forced into silence. Boscawen then sent the Royal Navy to bombard the city. For 12 hours, the British bombardment rained more than 20,000 cannonballs on the town. But the French strongholds retaliated effectively. According to an anonymous English officer, the fortress artillery forced them to move away because the English ships were receiving severe damage more serious than they were inflicting. After five weeks of fighting in vain, on October 11, the English admiral decided to lift the siege.

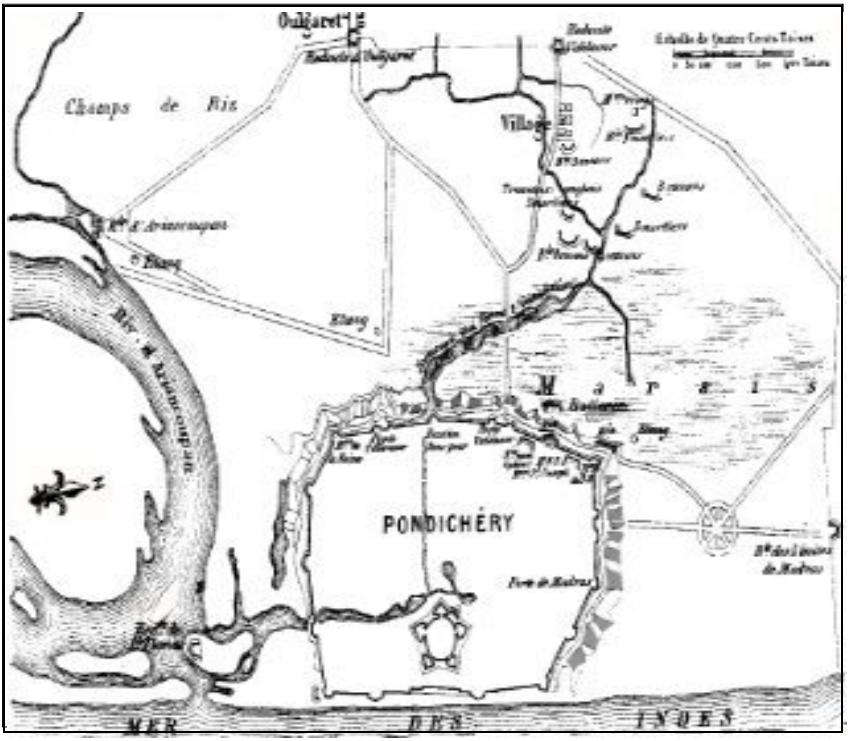
Casualties ♦The British lost 1,500 killed and many wounded.

As a result of this English defeat: The English army withdrew on October 17th, 1748.

The human losses of the entire War of the Austrian Succession reached 120,000 soldiers in all, *excluding* civilian casualties, which were even more numerous[446]. To this figure must be added at least the equivalent for losses by disease. It is therefore nearly 400,000 deaths that those who started the War of the Austrian Succession are responsible. To define the number of wounded and maimed, this number must be multiplied by five, i.e. 2,000,000.

[446] Figures taken from URLANIS, B., *Wars and Population*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p.45

Position of the siege batteries. Municipal Archives of Pondicherry.



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Battle of Pont-à-Buot

Date of the action: February 1751.

Location: Franco-English border in Acadia. Geographical coordinates: 50°05' north latitude, and 96°33' west longitude. Written today *Point de Bute* by phonetic calque with English.

Conflict: France and England had been officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748]. Guerrilla warfare raged on the territory of the former French Acadia, ceded to England.

Context: Since the Treaty of Utrecht, Acadia had become English. But the Acadians and the Mi'kmaq Indians, unhappy with this cession and refusing to swear allegiance to England, waged a bitter guerrilla war against the English. On September 30th, 1749, 4 English soldiers from Dartmouth fell under the bullets of a group of Acadians and Indians. On November 27th, a detachment of 18 Englishmen was taken prisoner at Minas Basin with its commander, Captain Hamilton, by Le Loutre's Micmacs. The head of Father Le Loutre was immediately put on a bounty by Corwallis on January 13th, 1750.

Chiefs ♦*French*: Saint-Ours[447]; ♦*English*: unknown.

Troops ♦*French*: 200 Acadian volunteers. ♦*English*: 300 regular soldiers.

[447] François-Xavier de Saint-Ours, officer in the colonial regular troops, born in Montreal on December 12, 1717, killed during the first battle of the Plains of Abraham on September 13, 1759.

Strategy or Tactics: Guerrilla warfare of the "strike and stall" type. Since May 1750, 5 signal posts had been installed in this sector.

At Cape Enragé, two men were to light a wood fire to warn the guerrillas as soon as an English ship was in sight. Two others in La Potrie, two in Ha! Ha!; two at L'Embuscade or Pointe Chipoudy; two at Cap des Demoiselles. All these signals formed a chain of communication intended to warn the French[448].

Summary of the action: During the winter of 1751, the Acadians and Amerindians harassed the English. In February 1751, 60 Acadians and Amerindians were harassing the English who were replenishing their stock of timber [in English territory], when a force of 300 English soldiers, sent by Lawrence from Fort Lawrence, rushed against them. The English arrived at Pont-à-Buot where they crossed the river and deployed in battle on French territory. Saint-Ours sounded the alarm and gathered as many Acadians as he could find. This done, he advanced towards the English, who immediately returned to English territory and entrenched themselves in Fort Lawrence.

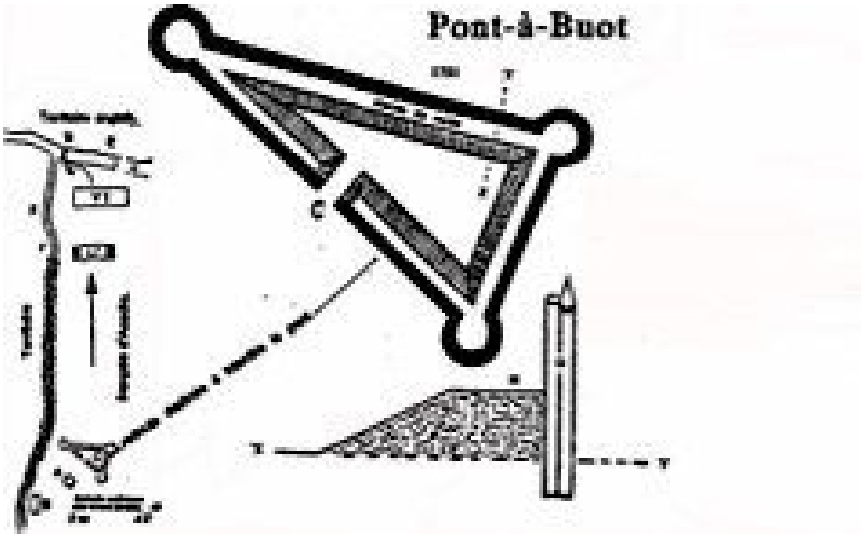
Casualties ♦unknown.

As a result of this English defeat, the Acadians and Indians continued to harass the English; they sometimes killed them. The guerrilla created instability and the fixation of British troops who, as a result, were not available in other regions.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Bona ARSENAULT, *Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens*, **6 vol. Tome 1 :** *Histoire des Acadiens,* **tome 2 :** *Port Royal,* **tome 3 :** *Beaubassin,* **Lemeac, Montréal, 1978. ♦George Frederick Clarke,** *Expulsion of the Acadians, the true story, documented*, **Brunswick Press, Fredericton, N.B., 1955. ♦John Stewart Erskine,** *The French period in Nova Scotia, 15001758 and present remains, a historical, archeological and botanical survey*, sans nom d'éditeur, Wolfville, N.S., 1975. **♦Edme Rameau,** *Une colonie féodale en Amérique: l'Acadie, 16041710*, **Didier, Paris, 1877.**

[448] This signaling system, which had little to envy to Chappe's lines [from 1794] onwards, operated until 15 September, when the English had completed the occupation of this sector.

IF. French Infantry, IA. English infantry. A. House of the commander of the redoubt of Pontà-Buot. B. Quartering of enlisted men. C. Redoubt of PontàBuot. D. Bridge between French and English territory. E. Border river Sainte-Marguerite or Mézagouèche, now Misteguash. F. Ruisseau à l'Ours. G. Palisade with double rows of trunks. H. Terreplein parapet walk. Archives of New Brunwick.



Battle of Pont-à-Buot.

Date of the action : June 11th, 1751.

Location: Acadian border area, in the Isthmus of Chignecto. Approximate geographical coordinates: 50° 05' north latitude, and 96° 33' west longitude. Today called by English speakers, by phonetic corruption, *Point de Bute*.

Conflict : France and England were at peace, at least officially.

Context : Since the cession of French Acadia to England [Treaty of Utrecht], guerrilla warfare had been raging in this border area, which was tending to be more and more fortified.

Commanders present ♦*English*: Unknown. ♦*French*: Monsieur Raimbault de Saint-Blin, born at Verchères, Québec in 1724 and d. in 1761 off Cap-Breton, Acadia when L'AUGUSTE sank. He was an officer in the *Compagnies franches de la Marine*.

Troops engaged ♦*English*: 300 men. ♦*French*: probably about twenty men.

Strategy or Tactics: Surprise attack and harassing shootout. This fortification [Pont-à-Buot] was only a redoubt, erected on an eminence to the right of the Ruisseau-à-l'Ours, 130 meters from the Sainte-Marguerite [a.k.a. Mézagouèche] river. This triangular outpost was built of logs. It was flanked by a round tower at each corner. These towers were joined by a curtain wall or palisade of logs. The entrance was on the west side. The two longest sides stretched

for 40 meters and the third for 18 meters. Near the redoubt was the officer's cabin, made of squared logs covered with planks, and a barracks for the troop quarters, 10^m x 4^m.

Summary of the action: On May 1, 1751, while Fort Beauséjour was under construction, the Acadians and the Micmac Indians, who could not get the English out of Fort Lawrence, formed an expedition of 130 men to attack Chibouctou [Halifax], led by 3 or 4 Acadian guides from the region. There, they attacked and killed about thirty Englishmen and took a dozen prisoners before returning to Beauséjour. On June 11, a force of about 300 English soldiers left Fort-Lawrence at dawn and slipped behind a drop in height so as not to be seen. They came in sight of Pont-à-Buot. Monsieur de Saint-Blin, who commanded the post, immediately sent a message to Saint-Ours. The English crossed the river and fired several volleys of musketry, but the French garrison returned fire with their muskets and two cannons mounted on pivots [449], which killed two or three assailants. The English immediately retreated, as soon as they saw that the whole garrison was on the alert and that the surprise had been over. Meanwhile, Saint-Ours arrived with his troops to provide support. Learning that the English were in full retreat, he stopped at La Butte-à-Roger. The Indians and some Canadians crossed the river to pursue the English, while the French troops, more respectful[450] of international conventions, followed the movement from the French bank, in order to fire on the English until they entered the fort. Monsieur Delangy, a Canadian officer, was shot in the thigh. The soldiers, Canadians, Indians, and Acadians fired for a long time and without any unity on the English ships, which responded vigorously with their artillery, but without effect on the Franco-Indians who were hiding behind the dike. The French regular soldiers ceased their harassing fire around noon;

[449] *Espingole-type.*
[450] 2 It was a time of peace.

only the Acadians, Canadians, and Indians continued to fire on the ships loaded with supplies destined for the English fort. They killed the second officer of the ship as well as two English sailors.

Consequence of this English defeat: Shortly afterwards, the English made a reprisal attack for their bitter aggression. They raided French territory and took ... six cows grazing peacefully in more or less marshy fields. The next day, Beausoleil and two Indians retaliated by raiding into English territory during the night and captured... 24 sheep and a canoe. Two or three Acadians launched another raid and took 7 or 8 horses from the English army.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ***♦George Frederick Clarke,*** *Expulsion of the Acadians, the true story, documented,* ***Brunswick Press, Fredericton, N.B., 1955. ♦Edme Rameau,*** *Une colonie féodale en Amérique: l'Acadie, 16041710.* ***Didier, Paris, 1877. ♦John Stewart Erskine,*** *The French period in Nova Scotia, 15001758 and present remains, a historical, archeological and botanical survey*, sans nom d'éditeur, Wolfville, N.S., 1975. ***♦Bona ARSENAULT,*** *Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens,* ***6 vol. Tome 1 :*** *Histoire des Acadiens,* ***tome 2 :*** *Port Royal,* ***tome 3 :*** *Beaubassin,* ***Lemeac, Montréal, 1978.***

Raid on Port-Louis-de l'Île-de-France.

Date of the action: 4 - 7 July 1748.

Location: Por-tLouis is the capital of the Île de France, now Mauritius or Maurice, in honor of Maurice de Nassau[451]. Geographical coordinates: 40º West longitude; 22° South latitude. This island in the Mascarene archipelago is located in the Indian Ocean, 880 km east of Madagascar. It had been discovered by the Portuguese in 1505.

Background: Under pressure from the English merchant Lobbies, the London Government decided to help the British East India Company with its warships and troops. Thus, in November 1747, Admiral Boscawen had left England with a squadron. The first objective of the mission was to seize two French islands by passing, the Île-de-France [present-day Mauritius] and the Bourbon Island [La Réunion].

Commanders ♦*French*: unknown. ♦*English*: Admiral E. Boscawen commanded the squadron and the land troops.

Troops ♦*French*: The Île de France had been carefully prepared for defense during the first five years of La Bourdonnais's administration. It had a small garrison of 500 French regular soldiers and 1000 sailors borrowed from the port. ♦*English*: 8 English warships and a convoy of 11 troop transports loaded with 1,500 English (in

[451] The island had been Dutch before it was French, but the Dutch had abandoned it because, it was said, of the large number of rats that infested it.

fact Scots) regular soldiers. The *Dutch*: 6 warships and 400 Dutch regulars embarked.

Strategy or Tactics: These two islands of the Mascarene Archipelago[452] were a month's sail from India. Before the opening of the Suez Canal by the French, which avoided circumventing Africa, it was an essential strategic step, a very important forward base for the French who were trying to establish trading posts in the Indies. The English did not have such close bases. They had the island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic, but that island was too far away. The Cape of Good Hope was still a Dutch colony, which the English were going to seize as soon as the Netherlands, which was now an ally, was in a state of war with them.

Summary of the action: The English squadron arrived before Port-Louis on June 4th, 1748. There was immediately an exchange of cannon fire between the shore batteries and the fleet that sought to probe the defenses. Boscawen tried to find the island's soft underbelly, the weak spot, the point of vulnerability, an abandoned beach; but the French had built redoubts or batteries wherever a landing was possible. After three days spent in vain searches and useless cannonades, the English squadron gave up and decided to continue its journey towards the Indies, towards Pondicherry, which was its ultimate goal. Boscawen therefore set sail, and in August made his junction with Griffith. The two squadrons combined formed the largest fleet ever seen in these Indian parts: ***30 ships***.

Casualties ♦, a few killed and wounded.

[452] Île de France and Île Bourbon; the archipelago bears the name of their discoverer Pedro de Mascarenhas who pointed them out in a slightly eccentric position compared to the other two.

As a consequence of this English defeat , France kept its strategic port of call. The Dutch, dissatisfied with this failure, left the English squadron.

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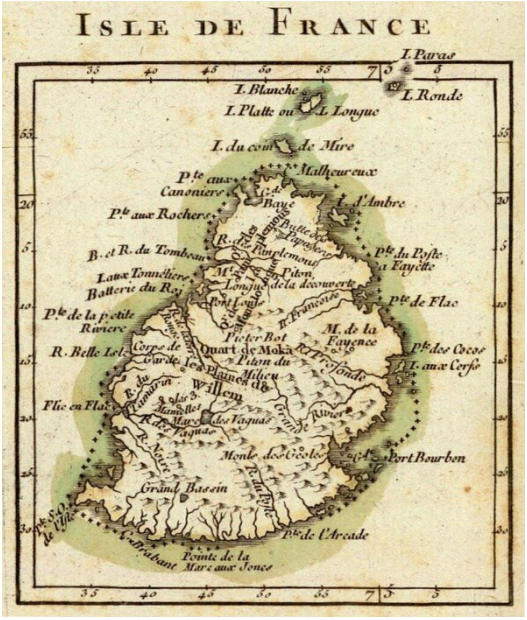

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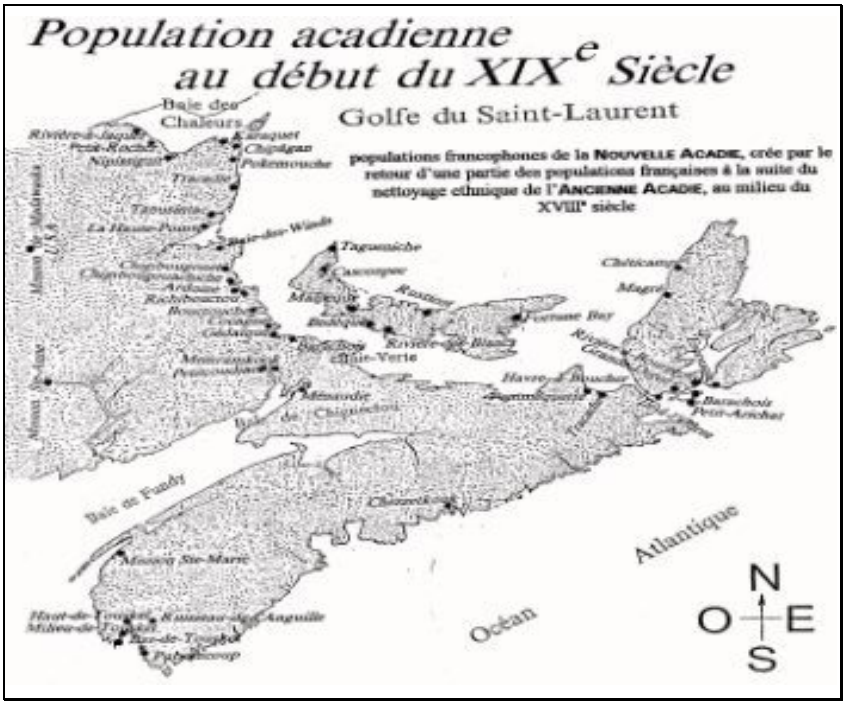

After the ethnic cleansing of the eighteenth century, some Acadians returned to Acadia in the nineteenth century, but they were unable to take back their previous Nova Scotia properties they had cleared. and which were occupied by English settlers. They settled in New Brunswick, which became New Acadia.

Attack on the Bay of Quiberon.

Date of the action 20th October 1746.

Location: Atlantic coast, Brittany, France. Geographical coordinates: 47°29' north latitude, and 03°07' west longitude.

Context: After failing in front of Lorient, Admiral Lestock went to ravage the villages of the Quiberon peninsula and the islands of Houat and Hoëdic. On the 28th, the English squadron returned to England, after cruising for some time in front of Belle-Isle, but without attacking it, the artillery of the island being too powerful. Lestock had at first thought of going to Ireland, but he received a letter from Captain Leke of the EXETER [60 guns], who had gone to reconnoitre the Bay of Quiberon. The letter was so favorable that the English squadron immediately headed for this bay, which was considered easier to attack.

Commanders present ♦*French*: unknown. ♦*English*: Admiral Lestock[453]; General Synclair [Sinclair or Saint-Clair]; Lieutenant-Colonel John Munro.

Engaged Troops ♦*English*: 8,000 to 10,000 professional soldiers were embarked on board the English squadron. Admiral Lestock commanded a squadron of 16 warships, including the large

[453] Admiral Lestock had been court-martialed a few months earlier for cowardice in the face of the French enemy. He was acquitted for having been defeated at the naval battle of Toulon two years earlier by the French. The president of his court-martial was Admiral John Byng, who was later court-martialed, sentenced to death and executed for refusing to fight the French.

PRINCESS[454] and EDINBURGH[455], armed with 669 guns, and accompanied by 30 troop transports. ♦*The French Expeditionary Force* consisted of 6 battalions of French Infantry: 5,000 French militiamen and peasants. The militias of the region and bands of armed peasants arrived with pitchforks and, against all odds, forced the British Expeditionary Force to re-embarked.

Strategy or Tactics: The small town of Quiberon, in Morbihan, was located on the long and narrow peninsula of same name which, with a few islands, forms one of the largest bays in Europe.

Summary of the action: The English squadron came to anchor in this bay. On 1st October, Captain Leke of the EXETER, accompanied by two other warships, the POOL [44 guns] and the TAVISTOCK, a 10-gun sloop, had attacked a small French frigate, the ARDENTE, and forced her to run aground at a point where she was later burned. It belonged to the squadron of the Duc d'Anville and had just arrived from America badly damaged. A landing was decided by the English. Lieutenant-Colonel John Munro landed with 150 men of the famous Black Watch Regiment[456], and took possession of the long isthmus, while General Synclair, with the rest of the Scottish Highlanders and the Royal Scot, captured a battery of 18 guns, repelling the French gunners with knives. This done, the English fortified the isthmus, where they landed additional troops, who took up their quarters in the houses of the peasants, whom the latter, frightened, had deserted. A second landing took place on the island of Houat, a 5 km long islet located 10 km north-east of Belle-Île-en-Mer, where the redoubt, which served as a fortification, was occupied and the few men of its garrison taken

[454] 74 guns, Captain John Cockburn.
[455] 70 guns, Captain Thomas Cotes.
[456] Scots; this regiment of Highlanders or Scottish Highlanders was at that time formed of defector clans [especially Clan Campbell] who, at the battle of Culloden Moor, had fought in the ranks of the English army against their fellow citizens; Black Watch = Black Guard.

prisoner. Several reefs protected the islet on the south side, while to the east was the redoubt overlooking *Baie d'Enfer* and *Port-Navalo*. The English also occupied the neighbouring island of *Hoëdic,* defended to the south by a tower armed with a cannon, protected by a wide ditch. The fortified structure was destroyed, the cannon nailed, the houses of some 600 fishermen from the two islands, and all the houses on the peninsula burned and destroyed. After that, the English troops re-embarked and returned to England, where they arrived on October 24th.

Casualties ♦almost nil on either side.

As a consequence of this English failure, the port of L'Orient, the main objective of the British Expeditionary Force, had not been destroyed, only a few houses had suffered from the passage of the English. This expedition against Morbihan, which had cost a great deal, ended in failure, and the English historian Grant ended the narrative with these words: "Nothing was more absurd and precipitate than this mission entrusted to General Synclair by the Minister: to invade France with only 8,000 men, without draught horses, tents or artillery trains, and with a fleet exposed to the storms of the most uncertain season of the year..."

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Upper photo : the site. Lower photo: Fort Penthièvre. (Google)

Battle of Rocoux.

Date of the action : October 11th, 1746.

Location : Near Liège, Belgium. Geographical coordinates: 50°36' north latitude, and 05°32' east longitude. [See the toponymic map of Flanders located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend, from 10th to 23rd August 1745]

Context : The French Maréchal de Saxe believed in a suspension of hostilities, but the Prince of Lorraine having occupied, for some unknown reason, a strange position in a cul-de-sac, an angle formed by the Meuse and its tributary the Jaar, on a ground cut by ravines, the French Maréchal saw an opportunity to cut the English army in two and to throw back into the river the fraction that had leaned against it. He quietly gathered all his forces and crossed the Jaar.

Commanders ♦*French*: Marshal Maurice de Saxe commanded the French. ♦*English*: Charles of Lorraine[457] was at the head of the Anglo-Dutch.

[457] Prince Charles Alexandre of Lorraine was born on December 12, 1712. He was the son of Leopold Joseph, Duke of Lorraine. His brother Franz Stephen, Duke of Lorraine, married Archduchess Maria Theresa of Austria, daughter of Emperor Charles VI of the Holy Roman Empire. During this war, he commanded the Allied forces. He was defeated by Frederick the Great at the Battle of Chotusitz [1742] and at the Battle of Hohenfriedberg in 1745. The French defeated him at Rocoux in 1746. In 1744, he married Maria Anna of Habsburg, Maria Theresa's only sister, thus finding himself doubly brother-in-law. The couple were jointly appointed Governors of the Austrian Netherlands. He became Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in 1761 and died on July 4, 1780.

Engaged forces: ♦*French* 120 Infantry battalions and 200 Cavalry squadrons, *i.e.* about 100,000 men. ♦*Anglo-Dutch*: 120 Infantry battalions and 200 Cavalry squadrons, *i.e.* about 100,000 men.

Strategy or Tactics : The French Cavalry did not have, as at Fontenoy, its share of glory. Rocoux was the day of the French Infantry. The position of Rocoux was worse than that of Fontenoy. It had too much breadth [span] and too little depth. Parallel to the Meuse[458], it exposed the Anglo-Allies to a disaster which the French Maréchal had skilfully prepared and measured, and from which the Allies escaped only by the slowness of Clermont-Bourbon, who was charged with the flank attack and the enveloping manoeuvre. At daybreak, 10 parallel [French] columns, flanked by cavalry, moved in silence. But an opaque fog delayed the French assault until 08:00. The Anglo-Dutch had crenellated the hedges, slashed the bushes, sharpened the branches, and made embrasures in the hawthorns. The idyllic landscape had become a death trap. The brigades d'Orléans, du Beauvaisis, des Vaisseaux, and de Rouergue came up against these traps and failed. The French attacks were renewed without interruption. By nightfall, the Anglo-Dutch were on the run, having left 10,000 dead on the battlefield. After two hours of pursuit, the saving night arrived and the fugitives were able to melt into the darkness. The English retreated in great disorder towards the Meuse, pell-mell with the Dutch, and, thanks to the darkness, succeeded in escaping by the bridges which could not be destroyed in time.

TACTICAL ORGANIZATION

On the Anglo-Allied right wing, the Austrian Cavalry, in 2 lines, crowned the heights of Houtain and Milnont [A.B]. In front of it, the villages of Slins, Fexhe, and Enick overlooked an

[458] That the army that was beaten could only pass through the bridges of Visé.

inaccessible ravine, bordered by redans and batteries, guarded by a line of Hussars. The Battle Corps [C.D], composed of the English, Hanoverian and Hessian Infantry, was staggered behind Liers, Voroux and Rocoux, forming a formidable triangle of hedges, abatis, walls and crenellated houses, defended by 12 battalions of Line Infantry and artillery. To the rear left of Rocoux and in front of the Faubourg Saint-Walburge, a large redoubt [R], armed with cannon, was flanked by 3 batteries of large calibre, crossing their fire on the Chaussée de Tongeren between the villages of Villers-Saint-Simon and Lantin which formed the *salient* of the position. The Dutch and Bavarians of the Prince of Waldeck, Cavalry and Infantry, fought on the left wing [E.F] between the suburbs of St. Walburga and St. Margaret. They leaned against the village of Ans, surrounded by hedges and abattis defended by the Pandours[459].

Summary of the action : On the 11th of October, the French executed *La Générale* at dawn in the French camp, and an hour after *Au-Drapeau* and *L'Assemblée*[460]. The fog, as at Fontenoy, delayed the launch of the assault until eight o'clock. The allied generals had ample time to make their battle arrangements. Estrées[461] executed his movement in three columns; *on the Right*, the Grassins[462], the Basque Volunteers commanded by d'Armentières; *in the Center*, the Infantry and Artillery; *on the Left*, the Cavalry. D'Estrées approached the *Chaussée-de-Saint-Truiden* head-on to deploy between *Ans* and the *Faubourg Sainte-Marguerite*. Clermont-

[459] *Pandour:* the word comes from Pandour, a village in Hungary. Hungarian soldiers. The word ended up designating brutal and plundering soldiers. Once an independent kingdom under the government of St. Stephen and his successors, Hungary was reunited with Austria at the beginning of the sixteenth century, after the disappearance of the Jagiellonian dynasty.

[460] *La General* [executed by drum, bugle or trumpet] ordered the troops to prepare for imminent danger. *Au Drapeau* paid tribute to the national colours. *L'Assemblée* warned the troops to assemble at a pre-arranged point.

[461] This is still Louis-Charles-César Le Tellier, Duke of Estrées, 16971774, who died without any posterity.

[462] Corps-francs-mixtes, composed of infantrymen and mounted dragoons. Already mentioned above.

Bourbon ran along the road with four columns led by Lowendal and Villemur. At 10:00 a.m., Armentières attacked and overthrew an Anglo-Allied unit [*the Pandours*], and passed the *Faubourg Sainte-Marguerite*. He then had a vision of the entire *left wing* of Anglo-Allied Cavalry supported by the village of Ans [support point] crowded with Infantry. In the *third line*, he saw a large reserve of Infantry: Dutch battalions guarded the three batteries which flanked the great redoubt. Armentières reported to Clermont-Bourbon, who wasted precious time in going to take orders from the Maréchal. The latter had deployed three assault columns against the Anglo-Allied Center: **1)** Clermont-Gallerande (with the 4th brigade[463] of Mailly, Brittany and Artois) had Liers as its objective. **2)** Hérouville was to attack Voroux (with the Montmorin, Navarre, Royal and Auvergne brigades). **3)** Latour-Maubourg's mission was to assault Rocoux (with the Orléans, Beauvaisis, Rouergues and Des Vaisseaux brigades). But the French Maréchal did not want to launch his attack in the Center until Clermont-Bourbon had begun his on the left.

The action began, as usual, with a strong artillery duel. Clermont-Bourbon directed the fire of 6 pieces of 8 [pounds] on the flank of the Dutch Cavalry; he pointed four others at the hedges of the fortified village of Ans, and shelled, with six pieces of 16, a large house filled with Allied Infantry which served as a redoubt[464] of the village. The Artillery of the redoubt [R] and the three neighboring batteries returned fire. Casualties were heavy on both sides, when Clermont-Bourbon ordered D'Estrées to assault Ans with four brigades [Picardie, Monaco, Ségur and Bourbon], while he himself would be in *fire support* with four other brigades and 20 guns. Before the general attack, the chaplain of the Auvergne Brigade began a sermon to the soldiers who were going to their deaths,

[463] A brigade normally consists of two regiments.
[464] Of refuge, of "keep".

which a noble lieutenant-colonel brutally interrupted with these harsh words: "*Soldiers! What Monsieur l'Abbé wants to tell you is that there is no salvation for cowards! Long live the King! And forward*[465]!» Behind the artillery marched ten squadrons of Dragoons and fourteen squadrons of Cavalry under the leadership of Rosen. These twenty-four French squadrons halted at 600 paces from the Anglo-Allied Cavalry. Picardie and Monaco rushed to the assault and carried the positions of the hedges of Ans while Ségur and Bourbon attacked the village head-on. The English infantry, which bordered the ravine of Sainte Marguerite, could not long sustain the fire of the Picardie Brigade lying in ambush behind the hedges of Ans village. The English suddenly retreated to Saint-Walburge, abandoning six guns. 10 Dutch squadrons of Cavalry bravely came to replace the English and counter-attacked the Brigade Beaujolais (!) which was crossing the hedges in rather disorder. A rolling fire[466]from Picardie overthrew these Dutch squadrons; but they rallied and obstinately returned to the charge. An Infantry battalion of Bourbon received them 12 paces away with an end-of-the-world discharge. The Dutch squadrons, decimated, did not return. The Picardie, Monaco, and Ségur brigades completed the line of ravine, and Rosen's Cavalry was able to form up on the plain opposite the Anglo-Allied Cavalry. Rosen did not have to charge with his saber because the French artillery established behind Ans was sufficient to scatter the Anglo-Allied Cavalry. On the *right wing*, the battle was won by the French.

In the Center, it was more contested. Renouncing the attack on Liers by force, the French Maréchal launched the Clermont-Gallerande column against the village of *Voroux*, in conjunction with the Hérouville column, while Maubourg assaulted *Rocoux*.

[465] The soldiers, whose only recognized right was then limited to the right to die, had to be content with this threat, terrible for believers, because it was launched in the name of God, by way of consolation and reassurance. Instead of silencing the fool, the chaplain did not insist.
[466] Successive bursts, in principle uninterrupted, but in fact separated by intervals of a few seconds.

The Anglo-Allied defenders of these two villages made such a valiant resistance that there was a little indecision in the attack, and that it would have failed if the French Maréchal had not had this French assault supported by Chayla's Tactical Reserve. The two entrenched villages were finally taken.

Seeing Voroux and Rocoux in the power of the French, the Anglo-Allied battalions which occupied Liers feared to be turned and evacuated this village without a fight, as the French Maréchal had foreseen. On the French extreme left, Mortaigne's small Corps was sufficient to contain the Austrian Cavalry, which watched impassively, as the Anglo-Allied Center and the left wing were defeated. The French Maréchal then slipped along Rocoux to the rear of the redoubt [R] to take command of the Cavalry of the right wing which was to go and give chase to the English and Hanoverian Cavalry whose mission was to cover the Allied Infantry retreating towards the bridges of Visé. As night fell, the Maréchal had to give up a general assault intended to drive the Anglo-Allies into a corner on the Meuse in order to drown them or make them lay down their arms. He had to let Charles of Lorraine and Waldeck make their retreat towards Maestricht[467]. D'Estrées was informed that the Anglo-Allied Artillery had re-grouped in Wotem; he sent his Light Troops there, who seized 22 cannons or howitzers and 60 wagons with their teams.

Casualties ♦*French*: 3,000 men hors de combat [killed and wounded]. ♦*Anglo-Allies*: 5,000 men killed and 3,000 prisoners, artillery [50 cannons], 18 flags [of Infantry] and standards [of Cavalry].

[467] Capital of the province of Limburg, on the Meuse. Dutch pronunciation: mâstriht by aspirating the h. It suffered 6 sieges, not counting the invasion of the Second World War, and gave its name to an important treaty of unification of Europe at the end of the twentieth century.

As a consequence of this Anglo-Allies defeat, the French army returned the next day to its camp at Tongeren. This defeat brought Anglo-Allied operations in this sector to a severe halt and influenced the peace negotiations.

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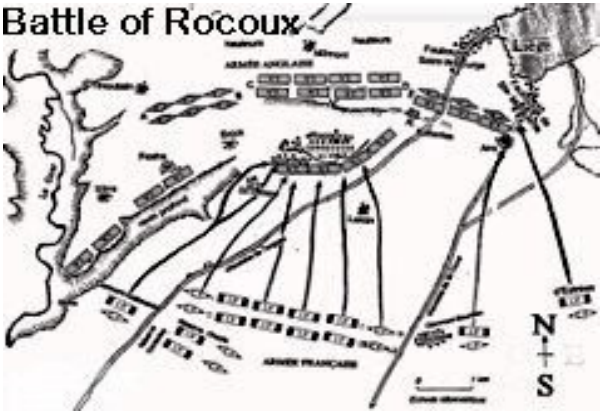

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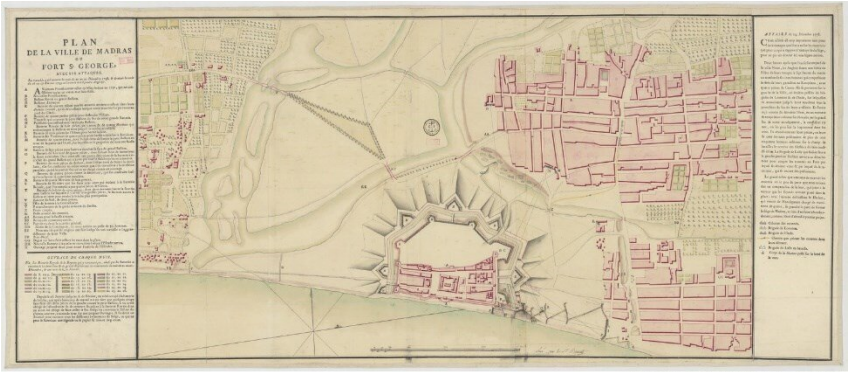
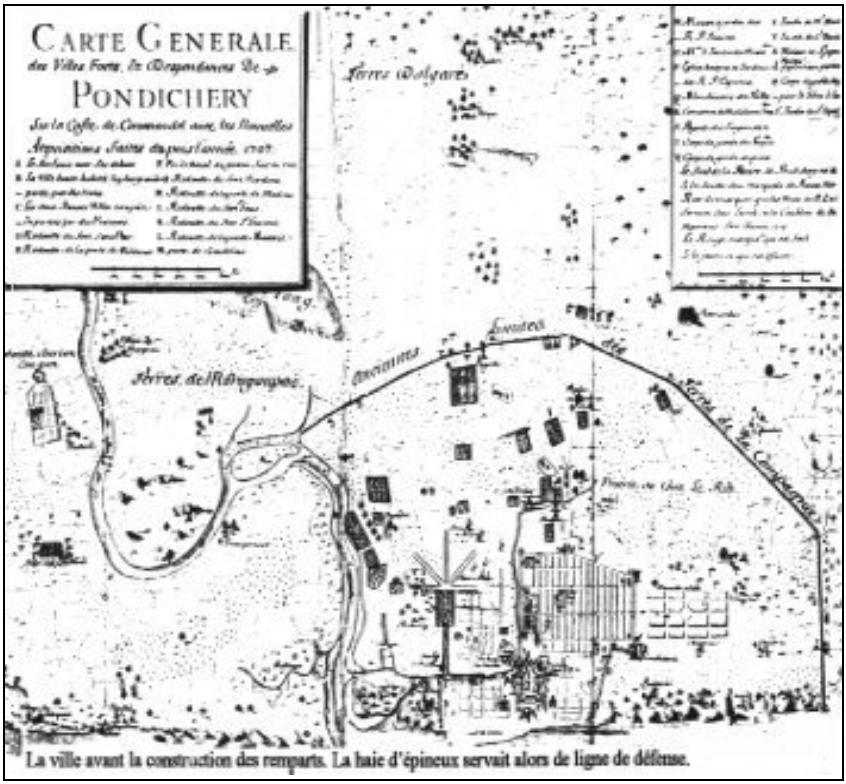


Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Plan of the City of Madras including Fort George. Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Old map of Pondicherry (1709), before the construction of the ramparts. It can be seen that the thorny hedge that served as the first line of defense at the time of this siege of 1748, was the former boundary of the lands of the French *Compagnie des Indes orientales* (*Indes Occidentale* being *les Antilles* in French, and *West Indies* in English).

Battle of the Sainte-Marguerite River.

Date of the action: October 15, 1750.

Location: This is the Mézagouèche River, now Misseguash or Missauguash.

Conflict: France and England were officially at peace.

Context: It was a harassment combat on the French-English frontier. Acadia had just passed into the hands of the English. On the new frontier had been built Fort Lawrence. When the English were installed in this fort, Captain Fox was sent in a pirogue with 20 men to Chipoudy [now *Shepody*] where, at night, they captured a French peasant on his farm on the coast, and took him to Beaubassin [Fort Lawrence] where he was questioned by Mr. How about the strength of the French in the area. As they could get nothing out of him, they kept him prisoner, but the Acadian escaped six weeks later. La Corne, for his part, left Pointe-Beauséjour on 8 October, where he was relieved by Monsieur de Saint-Ours des Chaillons.

Chiefs in the Action ♦*French*: Monsieur de Saint-Ours[468]. ♦*English*: Colonel Lawrence[469].

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[468] François-Xavier de Saint-Ours, officer in the colonial regular troops, born in Montreal on December 12, 1717, killed at the battle of the Plains of Abraham on September 13, 1759.

[469] Charles Lawrence (17091760): Relative to the Montagu, he enjoyed the protection of the Earl of Halifax. Officer, governor of Nova Scotia at Halifax in July 1756. A captain, he was wounded in 1745 during the terrible English defeat at Fontenoy while fighting with the 54th Regiment. Lawrence helped prepare the English forces for operations against Quebec in 1759. Lawrence showed a

Troops engaged ♦about a hundred men on each side.

Strategy or Tactics: Ambush. Guerrilla warfare raged in Acadia against the English occupying troops who burned French farms in order to force their occupants, the Acadians, either to swear an oath of loyalty to the English crown, or to cross the border to emigrate. Lawrence had already shown the greatest violence towards the German settlers whom he had been ordered to settle in Lunenburg, which provoked disturbances, riots, and desertions among them[470]. Against the Acadians he issued a proclamation ordering all Acadians to swear allegiance to the King of England, failing which they would be treated as criminals, especially if caught with arms in their hands. However, three years earlier, on April 12th, 1751, the Marquis de La Jonquière, Governor of Canada, had issued an order to all Acadian refugees west of the Sainte-Marguerite River to take an oath of loyalty to the King of France and to enlist in the Canadian militia, on pain of being considered rebels. The Acadians were

reprehensible cruelty towards the French Acadians (Ethnic Cleansing). He died in his bed in Halifax on 19 Oct. 1760.

[470] The episode in Lunenburg (1753) reflected real hostility and even outright coercion against the so-called "Foreign Protestants" (mostly Germans, Swiss, and some French Huguenots) whom Governor Charles Lawrence was ordered to settle there. After the British conquest of Acadia (1710) and especially by the 1750s, British authorities wanted to "anglicize" Nova Scotia by planting Protestant settlers loyal to the English Crown. To do this, they recruited several thousand continental Protestants from the Palatinate, Württemberg, and Switzerland, promising them land and security. Lawrence, already notorious for his hostility to the Acadians, displayed the same harshness toward the Germans. The settlers expected fertile farmland but were sent instead to the rocky and forested south shore, in what became Lunenburg. The land was difficult to clear and far inferior to what they had been promised, reserving the fertile land to English settlers. When the German protested, deserted, or tried to move elsewhere, Lawrence reacted violently. He accused them of ingratitude, threatened punishment, and imposed strict controls. Consequently, this provoked repeated unrest: desertions to French or Acadian communities, occasional riots, and conflicts with military garrisons. British officials themselves recorded complaints of Lawrence's "violence" and "severity" in correspondence, noting the disturbances among the Germans. The mistrust he sowed undermined what was supposed to be a stabilizing settlement for the province. So the phrase "Lawrence had already shown the greatest violence towards the German settlers… provoking disturbances, riots, and desertions" is historically accurate. It highlights not only Lawrence's temperament but also the broader pattern: his heavy-handed policies alienated both the Acadians and the very Protestants brought in to replace them.

really caught between the hammer and the anvil, a rock and a hard place.

Summary of the action: About the 15th of October, the Amerindians learned that Mr. How, the British Troop Commissioner, often walked along the bank of the river conversing with English officers or missionaries. He also spoke across the river to the French Acadian settlers, to whom he made many promises, inviting them in French to abandon the camp of their French compatriots and return home to swear allegiance to England. The Mi'kmaq Indians and some Acadians then decided to ambush him. They entrenched themselves one night, behind the dike that stretched along the riverbank. At 8:00 a.m., Étienne Bâtard, a Mi'kmaq Indian[471], brought a white flag along the bank near the place where the ambush had been set. Mr. How also appeared with a flag on the opposite bank, the Indian asked him several questions and then waved his flag to give the signal to the ambushes. They opened fire and killed him. Lawrence, who commanded the fort to which he had given his name, then sent a small detachment to fetch How's body. The Acadians and Indians opened fire again. Then Lawrence sent a strong detachment of 100 metropolitan regulars, which crossed the river and advanced as far as Isle-à-La Vallière. But Monsieur de Saint-Ours sounded the alarm and also advanced with regular troops. The English then recrossed the border river and returned to their fort without firing a single shot.

Casualties ♦However, a few English soldiers were killed, including How.

As a consequence of this English defeat, this skirmish did not help to ease the atmosphere on the frontier because England was forced

[471] Also called [not without irony] Father-the-Horn.

to maintain troops to hold Acadia, which took the burden off the other theatres of military operations.

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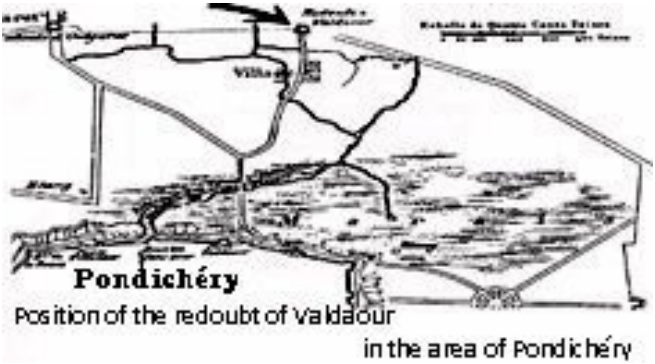


Attack on Srirangam.

Date of the action : January 3rd, 1753.

Location : Srirangham or Seringham; river island of the Indian Carnatic, formed by the Kavari[472] and the Coleron or Kolrun. Geographical coordinates: 10°50' north latitude, and 78°41' east longitude[473].

Conflict : France and England had been officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748]. Colonial and economic rivalries in the Indies.

Background : The 1753 campaign opened on 3 January with a surprise attack by Dalton on Srirangam. This island was held by the French, the Mysorians, and the Mahrattes.

Commanders ♦*English*: Colonel Dalton commanded the Anglo-Indian troops.

Troops. ♦The *French* garrison on the island was held by 100 French soldiers; the Mysorian and Mahratta numbers are unknown. ♦*English*: 2,500 men, including 700 Europeans.

Strategy or Tactics : Surprise attack at night. Trichinopoly is located on the other bank of the Colerón. This river is the main branch of another river called the Kavari which rises in the mountains 50 km from Mangalore on the Malabar coast, crosses the

[472] Today called Cauvery.
[473] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.

kingdom of Mysore, and then 600 km further reaches Trichinopoly. Seven kilometers northwest of this city, the Kavari divides into two branches. The one in the north is called the Coleron; the other the Kavari. Thirty kilometers from Trichinopoly, the stream begins to subdivide into several branches, all of which cross the kingdom of Tanjore and determine the great fertility of this country. For several kilometers after the separation, the banks of the Coleron and the Kavari are only a few hundred meters apart, and at Coiladdy[474] the two rivers come very close to each other, touching each other. The long island thus formed is called the island of Srirangam, famous throughout Hindustan for the great pagoda that gave it its name. This temple is located 1,500 meters from the western end of the island, a short distance from the bank of the Coleron. It is composed of seven concentric squares whose walls are 8 meters high and 1.20 m thick. These walls are 100 meters from each other, and each is pierced by four large gates surmounted by a high tower, and placed in the middle of each façade, facing the four cardinal points. The outer wall is 6 km in circumference, and its southern gate is adorned with pillars, several of which are monoliths 10 metres long and 1.50 m in diameter. The ones that form the roof are even more impressive. In the center is *the holy of holies*, the sanctuary. About 1,500 meters east of Srirangam, and nearer to the Kavari than to the Coleron, stands another large pagoda called Jumbakistna, but it has only one enclosure. The extreme veneration of Srirangam stems from the belief that it contains the same image as that of the God Vishnu that was once worshipped by the God Brama. Pilgrims from all over the peninsula come here to receive all the graces, helps and blessings of God, and none come, of course, without a cash offering. A large part of the income of the island is intended for the maintenance of the Bramins who live in the pagoda*, with their families*; which forms an immense parasitic multitude of 40,000 people who live, without working in the

[474] A fort located 25 km from Trichinopoly.

slightest, on the superstitions of the poor. Here, as in all the great pagodas of India, the Bramins find themselves in a complete dependency which satisfies all their wants. They are therefore very careful not to leave the silence of this refuge of the Gods to concern themselves with politics. But[475] they were to find themselves mixed up, reluctantly, in the Franco-English colonial rivalries.

In 1751, an English battalion took possession of Pitchandah, a fortified pagoda on the north bank of the Coleron, 1,500 meters east of Srirangam: the rest of the English army bivouacked along the river near the pagoda. The camp was only accessible by an embankment road surrounded by rice fields flooded at that time, and therefore inaccessible to the Cavalry. But the English army had quickly run out of food, which could only be brought from the opposite bank, protected by the fort's guns. Now, it was to be feared that the French would send a troop to seize the fortified pagoda, in which case the situation of the English would have become critical. The English commander therefore gave the order to retreat. The Coleron is subject to sudden surges in flow caused by the rainfall that has fallen on the distant Malabar Coast[476]. In a few hours, the fords can become impassable. However, at that time, the flow was powerful. The munitions of war and food were transported before daylight in two large flatboats. Then the English troops followed quietly with their Artillery. In fact, the French did not realize the English retreat until the last boat entered the river, loaded with troops and four pieces of artillery. The French then opened cannon fire and the English abandoned their boat to take refuge in a pagoda in Sriranga — though not without the reluctance of the Brahmins, anxious to keep their opulent tranquillity. As a result, the central enclosure was refused to them so that their mere presence would not pollute the fat golden idols. It was obvious that this pagoda

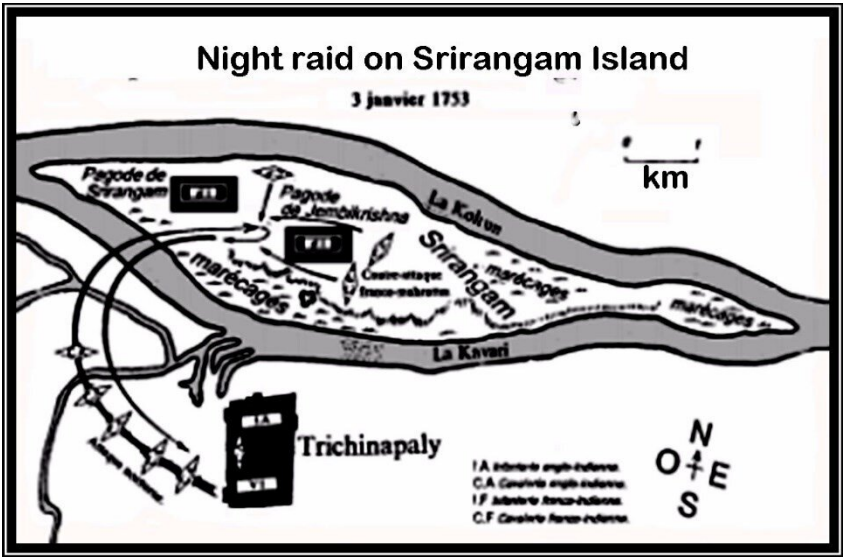
[475] In this year 1753.
[476] Southwest coast of the Indian peninsula.

could have resisted the entire local French army, but the spirit of *retreat* still prevailing, the English resumed their retreat two days later as far as Trichinopoly.

Summary of the action: The night attack of course created great confusion. The Mahratta cavalrymen charged the English several times and turned their disorder into a rout. It was a frantic flight into the darkness of the night. Dalton abandoned the corpses of a hundred English and 300 Indians on the field to retreat as quickly as possible towards Trichinopoly. The garrison of Srirangam consisted of 100 Frenchmen.

Casualties ♦*Anglo-Indians*: 400 killed including 100 English and 300 Indians. ♦*Franco-Indians*: Unknown.

As a result of this Angl-Indian defeat, their army took refuge in Trichinopoly.



SOURCES & FURTHER READING ***♦Edward Thornton,*** **The History of the British Empire in India,** ***Wm.H.Allen & Co. London 1859. ♦Auguste Toussaint,*** **History of Mauritius,** ***traduit du français par W. E. F. Ward, Macmillan, Londres, 1977. ♦The Carnatic.*** **Illustrating the Carnatic Wars 1740 to 1763,** ***Lokanandini Press, Triplicane, Madras, 1920.♦*****A complete history of the War in India from 1749 to 1761,** *with an accurate detail of Colonel Clive's military transactions,* ***Londres, 1761. Collection privée.***

Srirangam is the foremost of the eight self-manifested shrines (Swayam Vyakata Kshetras) of Lord Vishnu. Sri Renganatha Swamy temple, established in a 156 acre land, is a great vaishnavite temple dedicated to Lord Vishnu.

Thanks to the sacrifices of millions of poor Indians, this temple (the Holy Dham) was entirely covered with gold to celebrate the greatness of the god Vishnu.

Attack on Srirangam Island.

Date of the action: May 21st, 1753.

Location: island located north of Trichinopoly; Indian Carnatic. On this island was a garrison of 300 Frenchmen who helped lay siege to Trichinopoly. Geographical coordinates: 10°50' north latitude, and 78°41' east longitude[477].

Conflict : Official peace between England and France.

Background: Despite the official peace between England and France, rivalries raged in India[478], that were shaped by the rivalries between the Indian principalities.

Chiefs ♦*French*: Lieutenant Astruc of the *French East India Company* commanded the French garrison. Astruc is a Sephardic name from the south of France. ♦*English*: Major Stinger Lawrence, of the *British East India Company*, led the attack.

Troops engaged ♦300 French soldiers and 500 Sepoys. ♦650 English soldiers and 1,500 Sepoys.

Strategy or Tactics : The attack lasted twenty hours and consisted of harassing fire and a fierce assault, but the English were eventually repulsed.

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[477] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.
[478] The local princes waged merciless warfare, using the French and English armies of Madras and Pondicherry, respectively, as mercenaries.

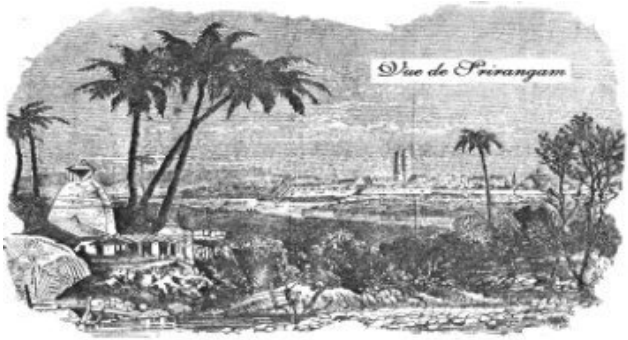
Summary of the action : On May 1st, 1753, Lawrence left 150 English and 500 Sepoys [Captain Chase] at Tiravidi, and marched with 650 English and 1,500 Sepoys to join and reinforce the besieged garrison of Trichinopoly. As soon as he was informed, Dupleix sent 200 Frenchmen and 500 Sepoy to join the garrison of Srirangam, which until then had 100 Frenchmen. Astruc took command of this garrison. Maissin remained in the French entrenched camp of the Panar River with 160 Frenchmen and 1,500 Sepoys. On the 10th of May, Major Lawrence entered the island of Srirangam. The French "shelled" his camp. The Nabob's Cavalry, displeased by a delay in their pay, refused to take part in the fighting**.** The battalion of Sepoys continued without them, set out at 3:00 a.m. in three divisions, and arrived at 6:00 a.m. at Mouta Chellinour, a village located 6 km west of the city, not far from the head of the island. A detachment of Cavalry and Infantry, positioned on the other side, seemed determined to prevent the passage, but it was dispersed rather quickly by the vanguard, and, while the second division effected the crossing, the detachment retreated towards the pagoda, from which the Mysorians charged as soon as they perceived the English attack. The Mysorians made a resolute charge on the Sepoys' Corps, but the latter, seeing three platoons of Europeans coming to their rescue, held the ground and succeeded by successive salvos in repelling the Cavalry, which retreated towards the pagoda. Thus, the [French] pagoda found itself under fire from all the English Artillery: ten pieces of artillery, eight of which were field pieces and two of 18-pounder guns, which Captain Dalton had posted on the bank of the river. At this moment, Mr. Astruc went up in line with the French troops and the Sepoys who entrenched themselves behind a stream and posted their four pieces of Artillery on an eminence from which they violently shelled the English. The latter then hid behind a dike, and the Artillery alone continued the fight until noon in the form of an intensive bombardment. At this hour, a detachment of Franco-

sepoys, accompanied by a few Topasses, seized a fortified building on the left of the English line, from which they began to shoot the English at point-blank range. A company of English and Swiss Grenadiers was sent to attack the building with Captain Polier at its head. They succeeded in dislodging the [French] Sepoys. After which the English pursued the Sepoys to the river where the French troops were concealed. The latter unmasked themselves and the English attack retreated in disorder, pursued by the French who re-seized the building that the French Sepoys had just lost. The French attack continued with such vigor, that the English were obliged to recross the river, abandon the island of Srirangam, and retreat towards Trichinopoly, where they arrived at 10 p.m. after 20 hours of fierce fighting, marches and countermarches.

Casualties ♦*English*: unknown. ♦*French*: unknown.

As a result of this Anglo-Indian defeat , Lawrence retreated to Fakir's Tope, 6 km south of Trichinopoly.

SOURCES & READINGS ♦*The Carnatic. Illustrating the Carnatic Wars 1740 to 1763,* Lokanandini Press, Triplicane, Madras, 1920. ♦A complete history of the War in India from 1749 to 1761, *with an accurate detail of Colonel Clive's military transactions*, Londres, 1761. ♦*German politicks [sic], or, The modern system examined and refuted, wherein the natural strength of Germany and France are compared, the nature of the ballance [sic] of power explained and our inability to maintain, in our present circumstances, a war on the continent is demonstrated*, Jacob Robinson, Londres, 1744.



Siege of Tanjore.

Date of the action: 7 November - 31 December 1749.

Location: Tanjour, Tanjur; today Thanjavur, Indian Carnatic. Geographical coordinates: 10° 48' north latitude, and 79° 09' east longitude[479].

Conflict: France and England were officially at peace. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had just been signed in 1748**.** Yet rivalries of colonial and commercial influence, carried on through the intrigues of local potentates and their conflicts, persisted in India**.**

Background: In the "kingdom" of Tanjore, the ruler Shahoji had been deposed by the French governor Dumas after several years of abuse. Following a process that was to make him a colonized, Shahoji went without hesitation to the English of the British East India Company to ask for their help in regaining his throne. He offered to pay the English for military expenses, and, as a bonus, to give them the fortress and territory of Devicota as the price of their aid (with the responsibility for them to seize it). Wanting above all to recover the price of his collaboration, the English Company immediately gave him an army of 2,000 men, including 500 European soldiers. This military force marched on Devicota in March 1749, but did not succeed in taking the fortress. Another expedition, led by Major Stringer Lawrence[480], was successful. The city was not defended by any French soldier and the account of this military action therefore has no place in these pages. The

[479] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.
[480] 800 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys.

English took possession of Devicota, but, instead of restoring Shahoji to his throne as promised... they offered him a small pension if he agreed to fall into line and not ask for anything more; Take it or leave it. Later, the English Company "*had to pay dearly for this ignominious precedent as well as this poor acquisition so ignoblely won!*[481]" A reputation takes years to build and only a minute to destroy.

Chiefs in the action ♦*Franco-Indians*: Colonel Duquesne[482]; Chanda-Sahïb[483]. ♦*Anglo-Indians*: Rajah Partab Singh.

Troops engaged ♦*Franco-Indians*: 800 Europeans and 300 Africans. The army of Chanda Sahïb numbered 30 or 40,000 men.

Strategy or Tactics: Rajah Partab Singh knowingly let the negotiations drag on in order to give time to Nasir Jung, a friend of the British, to raise an army and go and crush his nephew and rival Chanda Sahïb, who was pro-French.

Summary of the action: On November 7th, 1749, the Franco-Indian army[484] arrived in front of Tanjore and immediately summoned Rajah Partab Singh to surrender the city. The latter wanted to gain time. He had with him a contingent of English artillerymen. Duquesne urged Chanda-Sahïb to attack without wasting time, but the latter preferred to negotiate and asked Duquesne to refrain from any hostility against the city. The negotiations lasted... 6 weeks! Meanwhile, Trichinopoly, the essential goal of this campaign, was

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[481] Wrote the English historian Fortescue.

[482] Little is known about this officer named Duquesne who was present in India. He had received a commission as Ensign of Infantry at Chandernagore in 1735, then as sub-lieutenant at Pondicherry in 1738. Promotions were rapid when mortality was high, or perhaps he had even self-proclaimed himself colonel in that year 1749.

[483] As stated elsewhere, Chanda Shahïb was the Nabob of Carnatic between 1749 and 1752. His real name was Husayn Dost Khan. He was the son-in-law of the former Carnatic mogul Dost Ali Khan under whom he had worked as a Duan.

[484] Commissioned by Duquesne; 800 French, 300 Africans and an artillery train.

of course reinforced by Mohamed-Ali; and Nazir-Jung risked jeopardizing the logistical lines of communication of the French and Indians. Seeing the danger to French interests, Dupleix sent orders to Duquesne to attack the town of Tanjore immediately. On December 26th, he attacked. Three outposts were stormed by the French 500 meters from the walls. Three days later, as the negotiations dragged on, the French stormed one of the gates of the city. Finally intimidated, the Rajah agreed, on the 31st, to sign a treaty stipulating that he would pay Muzaffar-Jung and Chanda-Sahïb seven million rupees, reimburse an annual rent of 7,000 rupees to the French East India Company, add 81 villages to the French territory of Karikal, and pay 200,000 rupees to the French troops for their maintenance.

Casualties ♦unknown.

Consequence of this English defeat: Despite the official peace in Europe, Dupleix was gaining influence in that part of the world.

Fort Vijayanagar in Tanjore (Thanjavur). Priv.Coll.

SOURCE & FURTHER READINGS ♦George Bruce Malleson, Dupleix, and the struggle for India by the European nations, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1911. ♦Eugène Guénin, *Dupleix d'après des documents inédits, tirés des archives publiques ou privées de France et d'Angleterre,* ***Hachette et Cie, Paris, 1908. ♦A complete history of the War in India from 1749 to 1761, with an accu****rate detail of Colonel Clive's military transacti****ons, Londres, 1761.***

Siege of Termonde.

Other name: Dendermonde in Flemish.

Date of the action: August 5-13, 1745.

Location: Present-day Belgium. Geographical coordinates: 51°02' north latitude, and 04°07' east longitude.

Context: Maria Theresa[485] had just succeeded her father, Charles VI, by virtue of the *Pragmatic Sanction*. But immediately the kings of Prussia and Spain, and the Elector of Bavaria, declared war on Maria Theresa. The King of France, Louis XV, decided to take advantage of Maria Theresa's apparent weakness by seizing Flanders and Hainaut, which belonged to her. The army of the Anglo-Allies, which the French had to fight in these provinces, numbered 60,000 men under the leadership of the Duke of Cumberland, second son of the King of England. Louis XV first besieged Tournai, which was taken thanks to the victory of Fontenoy over the English. Then Menin, Ypres, Veurne and Oudenaarde were taken. To make the situation of the Anglo-allies more difficult, therefore, Louis XV undertook the siege of Termonde [Dendermonde], which was led by the Duc d'Harcourt, Lieutenant-General and captain of the Guards. The Anglo-Allies tried to throw relief there, but one of

[485] Maria Theresa of Austria, born in Vienna [17171780], empress from 1740 to 1780, queen of Hungary from 1741 to 1780, queen of Bohemia from 1743 to 1780. She was the daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI. She married François II, Duke of Lorraine, whom she had elected emperor in 1745, and by whom she had Joseph II, Leopold II and Marie Antoinette [who would become the wife of Louis XVI and therefore Queen of France, then die under the guillotine]. This War of the Austrian Succession cost it Silesia, which it tried in vain to recover during the War of Septans 17561763. When peace returned, she displayed great qualities as a head of state, practising enlightened despotism [biog. Petit Larousse].

their detachments, which was going up the Scheldt on rams[486], was attacked by the French and, in part, taken prisoner.

Commanders ♦*French*: the Duc d'Harcourt[487]. ♦*Anglo-allies*: the governor of Termonde was Barthélémy-Joseph Jaerens, Baron d'Heetvelde, of a great Flemish family from the Netherlands.

Troops Engaged ♦*French*: The Siege Corps included 20 companies of Grenadiers and 400 Dragoons. ♦*Anglo-allies*: the garrison was Austrian, Dutch and English: 900 men.

Strategy or Tactics: Everything was implemented, from the mine to the breach bombing. The French Left-Wing extended as far as Baasrode [on the Scheldt]; the Center occupied Lebbeke, where the Duke d'Harcourt, who commanded the siege, established his headquarters. The French Right-Wing remained in the vicinity of Wieze. The Carabinieri posted themselves near Appels, between the Scheldt and the Dendre.

Two pontoons, thrown over the Scheldt River [L'Escaut] at Baasrode, gave way to 1000 infantry and four regiments of Dragoons[488] which were spread out on the other side of the river. The Grassins[489] on one side and the Dragoons on the other had the

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[486] Flat-bottomed boats.

[487] François d'Harcourt, Marshal of France, son of Henri d'Harcourt, was born on November 6, 1689. He invested Dendermonde (Dendermonde) on the 7th of August, seized, on the 8th, the houses within reach of the most advanced redoubt, on the road to Malines, attacked this redoubt on the 9th, carried it off, and took 1,300 soldiers prisoners of war: Dendermonde capitulated on the 12th, and one of the articles of the capitulation stated that the garrison would not do any kind of military service for 18 months. 50,000 pieces of lead, 70,000 thousand gunpowder, 20,000 bombs and cannonballs, 8 iron mortars, and 40 pieces of cannon were found in the place. Employed in the same army (letters of 1 May 1746), the Duc d'Harcourt fought against that of the allies at Raucoux on 11 October. He was made Marshal of France. He died at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on July 10, 1750, at the age of 61.

[488] Versatile riders who could fight on foot or on horseback.

[489] ***Grassins***: Light troops amalgamated, on foot and on horseback like the *'special forces'* of the 21st century, for coups-de-main.

function of opposing any English reinforcement in flatboats [bélandres] coming from Antwerp. The Corps of the Duc de Chevreuse was to watch the approach of the Anglo-Allies. Some French detachments also occupied the Durme, as far as the Bac near Lokeren. The city of Dendermonde was thus completely surrounded, deprived of any means of external rescue. For their part, the Anglo-Allies had flooded a large part of the surroundings.

Attack of 11 August with artificial flooding caused by the besieged in order to stop the advance of enemy assaults and trenches. Dendermonde Municipal Archives.

Summary of the action : On the 5th August, 10 days after the entry of Louis XV into Ghent, a Corps detached itself from the French Army encamped at Aalst, and approached Dendermonde. A few rames [flat-bottomed river barges] loaded with English, Hanoverian and Dutch troops came to the aid of the city, but they were stopped by the French who engaged in combat from the banks. In this fight, 60 French *Grassins* were killed or wounded; the Anglo-Allies lost an equal number of combatants. On Saturday, August 7th, the French army crossed the Dender River and completed the investment of the city. On the 8th, the Duc d'Harcourt came to reconnoitre the place. Each battalion was ordered to make 500

fascines, 24 gabions[490] and 40 racks per day. On the night of 8 to 9 August, the fighting began. The French established a battery of four guns on the edge of the flood and seized the road to Vlassenbroek, on the *Chaussée de Malines*. Immediately, they began to cut the dike to the right of the road, in order to bleed the flood which quickly fell to 1 meter in height. The Anglo-Allies did not remain inactive. At dawn they directed a heavy fire on the redoubt invaded by the French; without result. The following night, a new bleed in the dike caused the flood to descend by another 35 cm, and the *Chaussée de Mechelen* [causeway of Mechelen] was completely cleared. Taking advantage of the receding waters, the French established new batteries. Artillery exchanges were permanent. The French also opened the trench on the right of the *Chaussée de Bruxelles* and began a new parallel a little in front of the artificial flood which had been bled a short time before. They set up more batteries near the city and an intense bombardment began. The houses would soon be reduced to ashes. The Governor therefore agreed, at the request of the bourgeois, to raise the white parliamentary flag. The capitulation was signed the next day [13 August[491]].

Casualties ♦*French* : unknown. ♦*Anglo-allies*: The French seized 40 pieces of cannon in the city, 32 of which were cast iron; 8 mortars or pierriers-a-boîte[492]; 20,000 cannonballs; 50 thousand of lead

[490] ***Fascines***: Bundles of long sticks, twigs, or brushwood bound tightly together (like a large brushwood roll) to throw into ditches. ***Gabions***: Cylindrical wicker baskets (often chest-high) filled with earth, stones, or sand to build parapets.

[491] The Anglo-Allied garrison was able to leave with the honours of war by committing itself not to take up arms against France until 1 January 1747.

[492] In the 17th–18th century context, *pierrier à boîte* referred to a small swivel gun (mounted on ship rails) that fired a canister filled with stones, scrap metal, or musket balls — essentially an anti-personnel weapon.

and 60 thousand of powder[493]. The Allied garrison was only allowed to bring out 6 pieces of cannon.

As a result of this Anglo-Allied defeat, the place was entrusted to the French Governor de Vaux, colonel of the Régiment d'Angoumois.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING *♦Henri Pichat, The Campaign of the Marshal of Saxony in Flanders from Fontenoy (May 1745) to the Capture of Brussels (February 1746), Followed* ***by an unpublished correspondence of Maurice de Saxe during this campaign,*** *publié par Henry Pichat, Paris, 1909. ♦Chevalier de Malbez, Campagne de Mr. le Maréchal de* ***Noailles en l'année MDCCXLIII****. Journal of the Chevalier de Malbez published with notes and a plan of the battle of Dettingen, J. du Teil, Paris, 1892. ♦Mauvillon, d'après le P. Lelong, History of the last Bohemian war, in which we find: 1 the map of the vicinity of Czaslau, with the plan of the battle which was given there between the Austrians and the Prussians; 2 the plan of the city and the siege of Prague; 3 that of the city of Egra and its environs, with the plan of the blockade formed by the troops of the queen of Hungary; 4 the plan of the battle of Dettingen, between the army of the French, commanded by Marshal de Noailles, and that of the allies, commanded by the king of England, P. Lenclume, Francfort, 1745. 2 vol.* **.**

[493] A thousand was equivalent to a weight of 1,000 pounds, or 500 kg of powder. The powder magazine therefore contained 30 tons of gunpowder or a hundred barrels.

Siege of Tiravidi.

Other names: Trivady; Tiravadi.

Date of the action: 3 May 1753.

Location: Indian Carnatic. City located 30 km from the shore of the Bay of Bengal, and 40 km SW of Pondicherry[494].

Conflict: France and England had been officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748].

Background: Learning that Lawrence had left only a reduced garrison at Tiravidi, Dupleix sent a message to Maissin to try to take the fort.

Chiefs: ♦Captain Jacques Maissin led the *French* attack. ♦*English*: Captain Chase.

Troops: ♦English garrison: 650 men, including 150 Européens.

Strategy or Tactics ♦Simple assaults; Releases and counterattack.

Summary of the action: On May 3rd, Maissin came to invest the square. A first direct and bayonet assault failed. A few days later, a second assault was no more successful, but the English had the bad idea of making a sortie with 360 men, including 60 Europeans.

[494] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.

They were immediately counter-attacked and cut to pieces to the last. Faced with this failure, the rest of the garrison capitulated.

Casualties ♦Heavy on the English side.

Consequence of this English defeat: This victory for the French led to the capture of Chilambrun [or Chillumbrum] and the entry into the campaign of Mortiz Ali[495] to recover the strongholds of the Carnatic.

The Red Fort in Delhi. Built in the 17th century by the Mughal (Muslim) Emperor Shah Jahan, the Red Fort in Delhi is an iconic symbol of India's history. Its stunning red sandstone walls and intricate marble carvings showcase the architectural mastery of the Mughal era. The fort has witnessed numerous historical events, including India's independence celebrations, making it a true reflection of the nation's journey. Priv.Coll.

[495] The Nabob Appointed by Dupleix.

Naval battle of Toulon.

Date: 11th February 1744

Location: Or *Battle of Cap Sicié*. French Mediterranean coast, approximate geographical coordinates: 43° 07' N, 05° 56' E.

Conflict: War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748. The extension of this war to America was called King George's named after George Ist, Elector of Hanover, who had succeeded Queen Anne on the English throne in 1714. The English also called this war 'Jenkins' Ear War', because an English officer named Jenkins had had his ear cut off by a Spaniard in the Caribbean. The Marchand Lobbies of London, and thus the English Parliament used this futile pretext to declare war on Spain in order to force Spain to prolong the *Asiento de Negros* in favor of Britain for the next 30 years.

Background: When Emperor Charles VI, Sovereign of the Holy Roman Empire and head of the House of Habsburg, died on 20 October 1740, his daughter Maria Theresa of Austria succeeded him in the Austrian Hereditary States by virtue of the *Pragmatic Sanction.* But the new King "*in*" Prussia[496], Frederick II the Great, immediately claimed the province of *Silesia* and had it invaded by his troops. In 1741, a coalition was formed to dismember Austria and, above all, to support the candidacy of Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria and *Grand Master of the Teutonic Order,* candidate to the imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire: France[497], the King

[496] From 1740 to 1772, Frederick II was King in Prussia. In 1772 (to his death in 1786, he became King of Prussia.
[497] 130,000 soldiers.

of Prussia, the Electors[498] of Saxony and Bavaria [15,000 soldiers], the King of Spain[499] and the King of Sardinia. So, 205,000 soldiers, not counting Prussia itself. Prussia, Sardinia and Bavaria subsequently abandoned the coalition. In 1743, England's Merchant Lobbies, which feared that France's hegemony in Europe was threatening its trade and colonial holdings, saw in this war an opportunity to weaken its hereditary enemy (France), and above all, she hoped that a new war, fought with solid allies, would at last allow her to defeat Spain and force that country to grant the London lobbies a monopoly over the slave trade between sub-Saharan Africa and Spanish America. The English King therefore openly sided with Austria and assembled a coalition which, together with his own Army of 64,000 [including the Hanoverians], would counterbalance the power of France: Holland [30,000], Russia[500]. Thus, an immediate total of 216,000 soldiers, not including Austria.

Military commanders ●*English*: Admiral Thomas Matthews; Admiral Rowley; Admiral Lestock. ●*French* Admiral de Court de La Bruyère; Squadron Leader Gabaret; *Spanish*: Rear Admiral Don José Navarro.

Military Forces involved ●*French*: The French *vanguard* was led by Gabaret, squadron leader. The *Center*, by De Court de La Bruyère [Le TERRIBLE, 74 guns]; the *Rearguard*, by Spanish Rear Admiral Don Navarro. In total, the Franco -Spaniards had 28 vessels with 1,832 guns and 17,430 men. ●*The English*: *Advance guard* was commanded by Admiral Rowley, in The BARFLEUR

[498] The ''Electors'' of the Holy Roman Empire were secular princes [four in number] or archbishops []three in number] who had the privilege of electing the Emperor of Germany. Periodically, the Emperor summoned these seven electors, who joined with other princes, prelates, and city magistrates to form a Diet [from the Latin *dieta*: sitting days; deliberative assembly in some countries such as Poland, Hungary, Sweden, Switzer land...]. The Germanic Diet was the most important. It took decisions called the *recez* of the Empire. It disappeared at the beginning of the 19th century along with the Holy Roman Empire when Napoléon reorganized the German states.
[499] 60,000 soldiers.
[500] 92,000 soldiers, 30,000 militiamen and limitless possibilities.

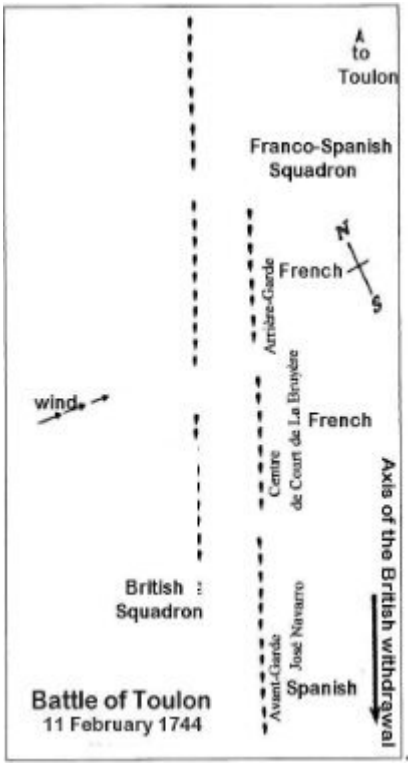
of 90 guns; Matthews led the *center* [The NAMUR, 90 guns]; Admiral Lestock was at the head of the *rear guard* with The NEPTUNE of 90 guns; The MARLBOROUGH, 90 guns; The NORFOLK, 80; The PRINCESS CAROLINE, 80 guns, Captain Osborne; The BERWICK, 70 guns; The RUSSELL, 80 guns... In total 54 ships, 2,680 guns and 18,805 men; 26 ships and 848 guns more than the Franco-Spaniards.

Strategy or Tactics: Tactically, two staggered parallel lines; cannonade only. Strategically speaking, this battle unlocked the port of Toulon. The naval theoretician Raoul Castex, in his "*Strategic Theories*", commented on this period as follows: "This offensive attitude on our part... as well as the squadron warfare carried out in the Mediterranean at the same time [Battle of Toulon] had the result of fixing the English to such an extent that they did not undertake anything against our coasts during the whole of this period. It was not until the Great Pretender [Charles Edward] had been rejected in Scotland and was finally defeated [at Culloden] that the English squadrons were able to discontinue their interception cruises against reinforcements and turn their attention to other enterprises and ventures[501]."

Summary of the action: On 11 February 1744, twelve Spanish warships [commanded by Don José Navarro] attempted to force the English blockade of Toulon [of Admiral Matthews] which had been in place for weeks. The old French Lieutenant-General, almost eighty years old, De Court de La Bruyère, commander of the Mediterranean squadron, decided to assist the Spaniards. The Franco-Spaniards lined up 28 ships of the line, the English, who were waiting for them, 54 of all sizes, some very large. The latter (Matthews) also had the advantage of the wind. The two parallel lines of ships met off the warport of Toulon. It started badly for the

[501] Admiral Raoul Castex, *Strategic Theories, Paris 1929,Ch.II, pp.159-160.*

English, as Matthews missed the vanguard [the Spanish]. In fact, the English vanguard found itself at the level of the French Center and the English Center was engaged by the French Rearguard. The English Rearguard, under Admiral Lestock, remained perfectly in line with Admiral Mathews' original orders and, as Mathews did not think to give them any orders to the contrary, Lestock did not participate in the battle at all. *The root cause was apparently a violent personality clash between the two British admirals.* The gun battle raged, with 800 killed and wounded in each squadron. Navarro's huge flagship El REALE [El REAL FELIPE] [110 guns] repelled a fire ship. Yet the Spanish lost the dismasted PODER, which was captured by the English, but De Court de La Bruyère recaptured it before the battle was over. Finally, the English broke off the fight and abandoned the battlefield to the French and to the Spanish. They headed for the Balearics [Port Mahon] and Gibraltar to repair their damage.

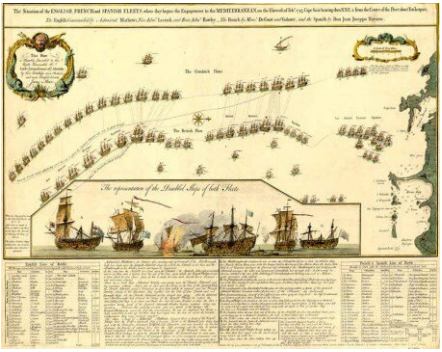


Casualties & Losses ●*English*: 800 killed and wounded, The MARLBOROUGH and The NAMUR were seriously damaged. ●*Franco-Spanish*: 800 killed and wounded.

As a consequence of this English defeat: the blockade of Toulon was lifted and the Spanish squadron was able to leave France.

Admiral Matthews was court-martialed in England and was sentenced to retirement with some of his officers (Captains Dilkes, Frogmore, Williams, Burrish, Norris, Ambrose...). Admiral Lestock, who could hide behind obedience to his superior's orders was acquitted. This verdict irritated English opinion, [*i.e.* the *London Marchand Lobbies*] who would have liked more sanctions against the military.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING: ♦A Just, Genuine, and Impartial History of the Memorable Seafight, in the Mediterranean: between the combined fleets of France and Spain, and the Royal Fleet of England, under the command of the two admirals Mathews and Lestock ... By an impartial hand, R. Walker, Londres, 1745. ♦An Account of what pass'd in the Engagement near Toulon, between His Majesty's Squadron under the command of Admiral Matthews, and the Combin'd Fleets of France and Spain, &c. Published by authority, Edward Owen, Londres, 1744. ♦Captain G's [il s'agit de John Gascoigne]. answer to a pamphlet entitled, Admiral Matthews' Remarks on the evidence given and the Proceedings had on his Trial, as far as it relates to his testimony therein mentioned. In a letter ... to the president of the late courtmartial, etc. Publication in London, 1746. ♦A political conference betwixt Cardinal Tencin and the Devil, held the night before the late engagement between Admiral Matthews, and the combin'd sqadrons of France and Spain off Toulon, Pierre Guérin de Tencin, cardinal, Publication à Londres, 1744. ♦The history of the Mediterranean fleet from 1741 to 1744, with the original letters, &c. that passed between the Admirals Matthews and Lestock. Also all the other tracts on that important affair, amiral Richard Admiral Lestock, Londres, J. Millan, 1745. ♦ViceAdm l Lstk [i.e. ViceAdmiral R. Lestock]'s account of the late Engagement near Toulon between His Majesty's fleet and the fleets of France and Spain ... Also, letters to and from Adm—l L— st—k [Lestock], relating thereto since his arrival in England, in The history of the Mediterranean fleet from 1741 to 1744 etc. Londres, 1745.



Siege of Tournai.

Date of the action: 19 April - 19 June 1745.

Location: Belgian city located 30 km east of Lille, at 50°36' north latitude and 03°23' east longitude. [See the toponymic map of Flanders located in the chapter on the Siege of Ostend,1745.

Background: The continuation of the war determined King Louis XV of France to direct the French army's operations towards the Austrian Netherlands. Louis XV wished to continue in Flanders the conquests interrupted the previous year by his incursion into Lorraine and by his illness. The French Maréchal de Saxe, suffering from *dropsy* [*edema* or *oedema* today, fluid buildup in legs and feets], seemed to be in no condition to make war. But Louis XV wanted the Dauphin to make his debut in the school of this great strategist, so, reluctantly, the French Maréchal de Saxe entered the campaign.

Commanders ♦*Anglo-Allied*: Baron d'Orth commanded the allied garrison. ♦*French*: Marshal Maurice de Saxe for the Army. Garrison: 11 infantry battalions and one cavalry regiment.

Strategy or Tactics : Tournai was a stronghold that guarded the border of the Austrian Netherlands. His capture opened the door to the North. On the 19th of April, after having skillfully combined a plan of campaign and led the coalition to believe that he was threatening Mons, the French marshal left Maubeuge with his army to go suddenly to invest Tournai by the left bank of the Scheldt.

Summary of the Action: The States of Holland had assembled under the command of the young Duke of Cumberland[502] an army of 55,000 men consisting of 20 battalions of English Infantry with 26 squadrons of Cavalry, 5 battalions of Hanoverian Infantry with 16 squadrons of Cavalry, 40 Dutch battalions with 26 squadrons and 8 Austrian squadrons. This ***Allied Relief Army*** arrived on 5 May 50 km from Tournai, between Cambron and Lens, with the intention of giving battle to the French and making them lift the siege.

The siege was therefore slowed down during the Battle of Fontenoy, which pitted the *French Covering Army* against the Duke of Cumberland's *Anglo-Dutch Relief Army*. Maurice de Saxe informed the King of France that he was going to be attacked. Louis XV, who was *anxious to show the Dauphin what a battle was in order to harden him, immediately hastened from Versailles to Pont-à-Chin, with the royal child*, the Maréchal de Noailles, his courtiers and his Household, who were also anxious to witness the *grandiose spectacle*[503]. The great battle of Fontenoy took place before their dazzled and horrified eyes on 11 May 1745. It gave victory to the French. At the end of this terrible battle, a cannonade of 160 guns [all the batteries], a shower of 55 bombs and a general salvo of the entire French army, announced to the inhabitants of Tournai the victory of the French. The same salvo was repeated three times. The Anglo-Allied garrison of Tournai then opened its gates after 23 days of open trench and took refuge in the citadel where the French attacked it and forced it to capitulate after 19 days of assault. The citadel capitulated on 19 June.

Casualties ♦unknown but very heavy.

As a consequence of this Anglo-Allied defeat: The English defeat at Fontenoy also resulted in the loss of the Allied fortresses of

[502] Son of the king of England.
[503] Like the Romans who enjoyed watching Christians being eaten by lions in the circus.

Ghent, Bruges, Oudenaarde, Dendermonde, Ostend, Nieuwpoort and Ath.

SOURCE & FURTHER READING ♦A.G. Chotin, **Histoire de Tournai et du Tournésis**, Massart et Janssens, Tournai, 1840. ♦Jean Cousin, **Histoire de Tournay**, Marc Wyon Imprimeur, Douai, 1620. ♦Adolphe Hocquet, **Tournai et le Tournaisis au XVIè Siècle au point de vue politique et social**, Casterman, Tournai, 1904. ♦Adolphe Hocquet, **Tournai et l'Occupation anglaise**, Casterman, Tournai, 1901. ♦Lucien Jardez, **Tournai Tournaisis**, Paul Legrain éditeur, Bruxelles, 1989. ♦Poutrain, **Histoire de la Ville et Cité de Tournai, Capitale des Nerviens, et premier siège de la monarchie française**, Moetjens, La Haye, 1750. ♦Paul Rolland, **Histoire de Tournai**, Comité National pour le relèvement de Tournai, Casterman, Tournai, 1956. ♦Acte royal du 22 juin 1745 de Louis XV, au camp sous Tournai: **Lettre... à Mgr l'archevêque de Paris [pour lui mander de faire chanter à NotreDame un Te Deum en action de grâces de la prise de Tournai.**

Citadel of Tournai. Priv.Coll.

Siege of Trichinopoly.

Date of action: 21 July 1751 - 13 June 1752.

Location: Trichinapaly, Tritchinopoly, Trichinapalli. Today Tiruchirappalli, India. Geographical coordinates: 10° 49' north latitude, and 78° 41' east longitude[504].

Conflict: France and England are officially at peace. The struggle for influence of the two European countries in the Indian Carnatic was carried out in an indirect form: the French and the English were considered only as the mercenaries of the two Indian princes, of the two rival Nabobs of the Carnatic[505], who in fact used them to claim the throne of the Carnatic. The two European nations had to respect each other by not invading each other's colonial territories.

Context: After being defeated at the Battle of Volkondah, the fleeing English took refuge in Trichinopoly where they were welcomed by the 200 English under Captain Cope. D'Auteuil followed the English Army and was stationed for three days in the region of Outatour[506]. Several battles occurred. During one of them, the English suffered heavy casualties.

Commanders ♦*French*, Jacques Law de Lauriston commanded the siege.

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[504] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.
[505] MohamedAli et ChandaSahïb.
[506] 30 km north of Trichinopoly.

Troops[507] *French*: Chanda-Sahïb[508] commanded the Indian army allied with the French (Law de Lawriston). ♦English: The garrison of Trichinopoly was commanded by Captain Gingens[509]; the English harassing troops by Major Stringer Lawrence and by Captain Robert Clive [17251774], brilliant but extremely corrupt officers[510]. Muraro Rai commanded the Indian army allied with the British.

Strategy or Tactics: The outer wall of Trichinopoly was nearly 6 meters high and between 1.20 m and 1.50 m thick. Law de Lawriston's command was so negative that it was ironically said at the time that this French officer could be considered the one who had laid the foundation stone of the English Indian Empire[511].

Summary of the action : On 23 July, Chanda Sahïb attacked the English positions without taking them, but during the night the British abandoned these positions to retreat beyond the Coleron [Kolrun] River, pursued by Chanda Sahïb and the French. On the 28th, they took refuge under the walls of Trichinopoly. The French and their allies took possession of the island of Srirangam, opposite Trichinopoly, and seized the land fort of Koïladi. The French, who had taken up positions to the east of the city, then opened fire on the ramparts. Captain Law had replaced d'Auteuil, who was ill with

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[507] Law was the nephew of the famous Scotsman John Law de Lauriston [16711729] who, having become Controller of the Finances of the Kingdom of France, had ruined the French economy in 1720 by his unorthodox financial maneuvers. As he had founded the East India Company, his family still had, 20 years after the death of the famous financier, strong protections in that company and at the court of France, so that the governor of the French Indies, Dupleix, had been obliged to give the incompetent nephew of the former Comptroller of Finances the command of the French army during the siege of Trichinopoly.

[508] Chanda Shahïb was the Nabob of Carnatic between 1749 and 1752. His real name was Husayn Dost Khan. He was the son-in-law of the former Carnatic mogul Dost Ali Khan under whom he had worked as a Duan.

[509] Captain John [Jean] Rodolphe de Gingens, Swiss mercenary officer.

[510] As mentioned above, Clive committed suicide when his conduct was revealed in the Parliament in London; so true is it that human beings feel dishonored not when they commit a crime, but when their conduct is known to all.

[511] In fact, in the field of direct and indirect sabotage, he was surpassed only by Lally Tollendal.

gout [gouty arthritis], at the head of the French army. The new officer decided to completely blockade the city. In the meantime, Fort Saint-David received reinforcements of 400 Europeans by sea. Lieutenant Clive immediately introduced a part of these troops into the besieged Trichinopoly, and thus increased the garrison to 600 men. Then this brilliant English officer had the idea of carrying out a diversionary maneuver to divide the Franco-Indian forces and make them lift the siege. He decided to attack the city of Arcot [Arcate], the political capital of Carnatic, with 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys taken from the garrison of Madras and Fort St. David. He set out with his new rank of captain. The city of Arcate had a population of 100,000 at the time. The garrison consisted of 1000 Cavalry, 1000 Infantry, and a few Indian artillerymen[512]. On the 6th of September, Clive left Madras. On the 11th he arrived before Arcot.

In Pondicherry, Dupleix did not allow himself to be caught in the trap of diversion. On the contrary. He sent a reinforcement of Europeans to hasten the siege of Trichinopoly. Unfortunately for the French who wanted to focus on Trichinopoly, as soon as Chanda-Sahïb heard of the capture of his capital by the English, he insisted on detaching 4,000 men from his army to reconquer his lost city. Although regretting this weakening of the forces which besieged Trichinopoly, Dupleix reinforced this troop with a contingent of 100 Europeans, when it passed through Pondicherry, in order to make it more effective. This unit was later reinforced by 10,000 men, and Rajah Sahïb, son of Chanda Sahïb, took command of the whole. On October 4, Rajah Sahïb captured the city of Arcot and invested the fort. On the 5th the besieged made a sortie led by Captain Clive. On the 20th, two 18-pounder guns arrived from Pondicherry. The garrison of this French capital was reduced to the bare minimum: 120 Europeans and 200 Sepoys. A new English

[512] French instructors trained them in European-style pointing.

reinforcement of 100 Europeans and 200 Sepoys sent from Madras and commanded by Lieutenant Innis was attacked by the French at Tirapatur, and, after a fierce fight, was forced to take refuge at Punamallu. On the 10th of November, as a breach had been made in the wall of Arcot [Arcate], Rajah Sahïb sent Clive a summons to capitulate on terms very favorable to the garrison. He also promised a large sum of money for himself. Refusal. Raja Sahïb hesitated for a few days, not knowing what to do: attack or starve the garrison.

Meanwhile, the English governor of Madras, Saunders, was doing his best to help the besieged Arcot. The first reinforcement [Lieutenant Innis] who had taken refuge at Punamallu, received a more experienced officer [Captain Kilpatrick] to make a new attempt to reinforce the garrison of Arcot. In addition, Saunders had succeeded in convincing the Mahrattes to rise up in favour of Muhammad Ali. As a result, an army of 6,000 Mahrattes [commanded by Murari Rao] soon entered the campaign. Pressed by the danger of being attacked on two fronts[513], Rajah Sahïb at last decided to make an assault. Unfortunately for him, a deserter from his army warns Clive of the impending attack.

Consequently, an army of 6,000 Mahrattas [commanded by Murari Rao] soon took the field. Pressed by the danger of being attacked on two fronts, Rajah Sahīb finally resolved to give the assault. Unfortunately for him, a deserter from his army warns Clive of the impending attack. Thus, when Rajah Sahïb's troops launched an assault at dawn on November 25th, they found the garrison armed to the teeth waiting for them in front of the breach. The troops, preceded by elephants destined to break down the gates, mounted the assault. Without any support from the 100 French

[513] By Murari Rao and by a combined exit from Clive.

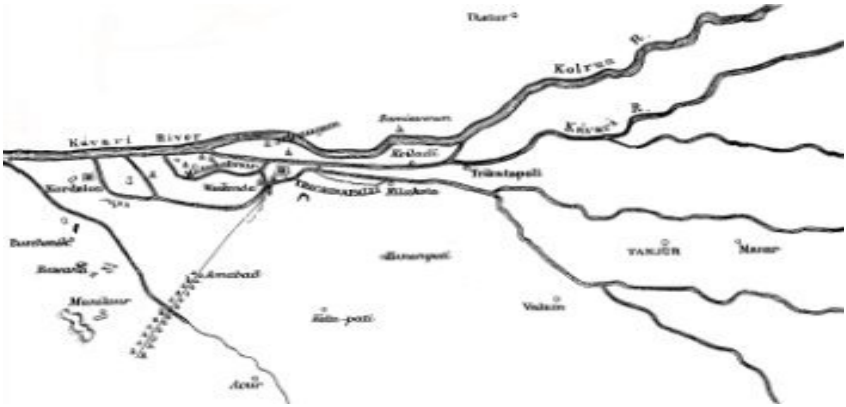
soldiers who, strangely, did not take part in the attack[514], Rajah Sahïb's troops climbed the North-West Breach, crossed the first ditch and charged the British ready to receive them. The fire was so terrible and so dense[515] that the assault failed. The south-west attack, carried out by means of a makeshift pontoon thrown across the ditch, also ended in failure. An hour after the assault began, Rajah Sahïb's casualties amounted to 400 men. Discouraged, Rajah Sahïb lifted the siege the next morning, November 26th, and headed for Vellur, accompanied only by the hundred or so Frenchmen and by the troops sent from Trichinopoly. All the other soldiers had deserted. Meanwhile, the siege of Trichinopoly[516] continued unabated. Law had 400 men at the beginning of the siege. Dupleix, who wished to hasten the operations, sent him all possible reinforcements. Law soon found himself at the head of an army of nearly 900 Europeans[517], and 2,000 well-disciplined Sepoys. He also had with him the army of his ally Chanda-Sahïb: 30,000 men, many of whom were Cavalry, not counting 50 cannons (including some large-caliber siege guns). From Pondicherry, Dupleix tried to hasten the siege operations in order to take Trichinopoly before things went wrong in the region, considering the perpetual harassment of Clive and Murari Rao. But, impervious to the enlightened advice of his superior, Law de Lauriston[518] contented himself with blockading the city. Incompetent and haughty, he systematically rejected the advice of others simply because it had been suggested by others, when he, Law was the commander-in-chief. Faced with a discouraged English garrison, an assault would easily have been successful, but Law rejected the advice of Dupleix, and still more

[514] This seems to indicate opposition to this tactic.
[515] The 200 English fired 12,000 musket cartridges in 60 minutes! It was a real fireworks display.
[516] Of which Arcate's was only a diversion; See above
[517] French soldiers of the Navy and English deserters incorporated into the
[518] Like Lally Tollendal [1702-1766] a few years later. Both Law and Lally, both Celts in the French army from the British Isles, fell into the error of underestimating the English too much. They sent only detachments to fight them that were numerically too inferior to defeat them [see above]. Was it the consequence of the hatred felt by these Irish and Scottish oppressed towards their English oppressors that distorted their judgment?

so that of Chanda-Sahïb, and contented himself with passively blockading the city. During the siege, the Dalwai of Mysore sent a force of 500 Indian cavalry to harass the besiegers. The latter defeated a detachment of Chanda-Sahïb horsemen and even set up an ambush in which 50 French dragoons perished. Some time after this incident, the English captain Gingens, who commanded the garrison of Trichinopoly, decided to create another diversion. He sent Captain Cope at the head of an English force to attack Krishnawaram, a town occupied by the French, 50 km from Trichinopoly. But this time the English were beaten and Captain Cope killed, which was severely felt by the English. Immediately after defeating Rajah Sahïb, Clive set out with a force of 200 Englishmen, 700 Topasses[519], 600 Mahratte cavalry, and 3 pieces of artillery. Although the Mahratte horsemen, who had ventured too close to Vellur, had been beaten by the French who were following Rajah Sahïb, and a French reinforcement from Pondicherry had brought their numbers to nearly 300, Clive headed in their direction and overtook them as they prepared to cross the Arni River. The French[520] turned to fight. Clive ordered his men to charge on the flank at a critical moment in the fighting, and the French, who had neither a competent leader nor artillery, abandoned their positions after losing 50 European and 150 Indian soldiers. The English, very well deployed, lost no Europeans, placed behind the Sepoys. Only eight Sepoys were killed and 50 Mahrattes disappeared, probably by desertion or prisoners of the French. After the diversionary combat of the Arni, Clive, tirelessly, headed a considerable force towards Conjeveram, a post near Madras which the French had just captured. He regained the post after a fairly hard fight, but lost it soon after. A small Franco-Indian force came to take up position in front of the small town of Kavaripak[521]. There, under the cover

[519] Let us also recall, for those who do not follow the stories chronologically, that the Topasses or Topas or Topazes were Christianized Indo-Portuguese Metis.
[520] Which included nearly 300 Europeans, 2500 Indian infantry and 2000 cavalry.
[521] Or Covrepak.

of the trees, they waited for Clive. The English arrived and attacked immediately.



Trichinopoly area on the Kaveri River. Priv.Coll.

The fight lasted two long hours before Clive had to admit that the battle was lost for him. He then had a brilliant idea. Night was falling. One of his officers spoke French without any English accent. He used it to lure French and Indian sentries and sent a large force of Indians behind the Franco-Indians. Well positioned behind the combatants, the troops sent a general discharge into the back of the Franco-Indians who disbanded and abandoned their positions. Many were taken prisoner. Clive had managed to turn a defeat into a complete victory[522]. From there, Clive headed for Vellur to lay siege to the city but failed to take it.

On 28 March 1752 Major Lawrence and Captain Clive[523] left Fort St. David to relieve Trichinopoly. By this time, thanks to

[522] This reversal following a ruse of war can be compared to that of the Battle of La Roche-Derrien, on 19 June 1347, during which Thomas Dagworth, defeated but not destroyed, returned the following night to attack and exterminate the Franco-Bretons who were sleeping peacefully on the battlefield without having taken the precaution of placing sentries.

[523] With a reinforcement of 400 Europeans and 100 Sepoys, 8 artillery pieces and significant logistical supplies.

the strategic skills of Clive and Lawrence, the tide of desertions had changed side.

The Indians deserted the French to go over to the English, unlike in recent times when the French had chiefs such as De Bussy and D'Auteuil. Learning from his spies that reinforcements were arriving at Trichinopoly, Dupleix warned Law de Lauriston, ordering him to leave only a cordon of troops to screen the city in order to intercept the reinforcements with his army. He repeated his orders in several messages with many tactical details. Yet, in a spirit of contradiction or simple stupidity, Law de Lauriston, who had 900 Frenchmen and 2,000 Sepoys at his disposal[524], sent only a detachment of 200 Frenchmen and 350 Sepoys to go and intercept the English reinforcements of 400 Europeans and 1,100 Sepoys! These 550 men immediately came to occupy the fortified outpost of *Koiladi*, on the north bank of the Kavari River, in order to intercept the British army of 1,500 men. On the 7th of April, therefore, Major Lawrence found himself under fire from Koïladi's rifles. The fight was hard. The British lost 20 Europeans and a large number of Indians, and the supply convoy was disabled. This is precisely the moment that the French commander should have used to complete his victory[525] by attacking from the rear. But this was not the case and Lawrence was able to get out of his tragic situation and head for Trichinopoly. When he learned that the English had fanned and pierced his trap of Koïladi, Law de Lauriston was taken by surprise, for, possessed by his immense vanity and even arrogance, he had not foreseen the slightest failure of his tactic. He began to gather his soldiers scattered around the city of Trichinopoly, which he should have done the day before; if necessary. All night long the detachments regrouped, and at dawn the little army, exhausted by a sleepless night, *marched to a position*

[524] Not to mention the Indian troops of Chanda Sahïb, the ally of the French.
[525] If it had had sufficient manpower.

chosen by Law de Lauriston. He hoped that the English would come to give their head against this position, which, moreover, could prove dangerous for the French themselves, insofar as, being very close to *Trichinopoly*, the besieged could take it from the rear, in a pincer movement. Law placed his men in a thin cordon in an oblique line from the village of *Chakalpalam* [on the Kavari] to the *French Rock*, and from there still more oblique to the distant rock of *Elmiseram.* Meanwhile, Lawrence had bivouacked at *Kilakota* from where he had set out at dawn. An English officer of the Trichinopoly besieged garrison came to inform him of the position of the French. However, Lawrence did not want to risk the dangerous hazards of a battle that could compromise his supply mission. He therefore skirted *Elmiseram* in the direction of *Sugarloaf Rock*, where he was joined by 200 soldiers of the garrison commanded by Captains Clarke and Dalton. The junction with the garrison could be considered accomplished. This was the precise moment, when the English were now safe under fortress artillery, that Law de Lauriston chose to attack [on 8 April]. He launched an assault which, of course, failed. On both sides the artillery shelling was dense. The Franco-Indians interrupted the attack after losing 340 men, including 40 French. The English, although fighting *under cover in entrenched defensive positions*, lost 20 killed and many wounded. Exhausted by the assault, the English finally abandoned their entrenchments and took refuge in Trichinopoly.

Faced with the uselessness of Law de Lauriston, whose stubbornness led to unnecessary deaths among his troops resigned to obedience, Dupleix felt a strong resentment against this incompetent man protected by a powerful family of courtiers. But what could he do about it? Although he did not yet feel strong enough to attack the French troops, Major Lawrence decided to attack the Indian quarters of Chanda-Sahïb. On April 12 at nightfall, a force of 400 men [Captain Dalton] was sent to strike Chanda-Sahïb. But the English captain got lost during the night and, to his great horror,

found himself in the early morning facing the French lines between the *French Rock* and *Elmiseram*. Since, by extraordinary luck, the French sentries had not seen them, the English turned back in all haste to retreat "*on tiptoe*"; it was then that the French saw them in full retreat. The news was immediately conveyed to Law; but the latter, instead of attacking and destroying these enemy troops, took the incredible decision to take refuge himself in the island of *Srirangam* with his army ! When he informed Chanda-Sahïb of this, this faithful friend of France was very angry. He tried to convince Law de Lauriston of the danger of locking the French army in an island. Nothing helped, not even Dupleix's letters. Unwilling to abandon his ally, Chanda-Sahïb resolved to follow him to the island. The crossing of the *Kavari* was made in the worst of confusions; provisions were abandoned or destroyed; a lot of lost luggage. The panic of the commander, who now seemed to be afraid of his own shadow, led to disastrous consequences. Law had left an isolated detachment to guard the rock of *Elmiseram*. On the 13th of April, Captain Dalton captured the rock. Lawrence, for his part, sent troops north of the *Kolrun River* to cut off the French logistic lines. Moreover, on the night of April 17th, 1752, Lawrence sent an army of 400 Europeans, 700 Sepoys, 3,000 Mahrattes, and 1000 Tanjorian Cavalry, with eight pieces of artillery, to cross *the Kavari* and *Kolrun* rivers. On the morning of the 18th, they took up a position in the village of *Semiaveram,* about fifteen kilometers north of the island of *Srirangam*, on the main road between that place and Pondicherry.

In the meantime, Dupleix, furious at Law de Lauriston's incompetence, cowardice and refusal to obey his superior, sent Monsieur d'Auteuil, although handicapped by his illness, into the field with 120 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, and 4 pieces of artillery. This troop left on 10 April and reached *Outatour*[526] on 25 April. At

[526] 22 km north of Semiaveram.

Outatour, d'Auteuil learned that Law had taken refuge on the river island and that Clive was barring the passage between the two French troops. He decided to take a detour and sent messages to Law to warn him of his plan. But one of the messages was captured by Clive's men. On the evening of 25 April, therefore, d'Auteuil was heading west, when he learned that Clive was rushing towards him to intercept him. So he turned around in the direction of *Outatour*. Clive, hearing this, did the same and returned to *Semiaveram*. To complicate the already confusing situation of these complex attacks and counter-attacks, Law himself got wind of d'Auteuil's planned march and Clive's intention to intercept him. He saw in this a unique opportunity to play a trick on Clive. By a forced march of 15 km with his troop, he decided to seize *Semiaveram* while Clive was busy intercepting d'Auteuil. The idea would have been good if Clive hadn't been back in *Semiaveram*, and especially if Law had used his entire army. But, as usual, he still used only half-measures that condemned him irretrievably to failure. Instead of launching all his troops into the attack, he contented himself with sending an insignificant detachment of 80 Europeans and 700 Sepoys, while Clive had 5,100 men at his disposal to receive him, including 400 Europeans with 8 pieces of artillery! Moreover, to add to the danger, 40 of the 80 Europeans sent by Law were English deserters [defectors] who had joined the French. They had already turned their weapons against their own country, and could, as a result, betray the French to redeem themselves in the eyes of their fellow citizens. The French detachment approached Clive's camp at *Semiaveram*, unaware that Clive had already returned. Thinking that no danger could arise from the incapable Law, Clive was already asleep with all his English soldiers. Sepoys guarded the camp. The English deserters from the French detachment had no trouble making them believe that they were coming to reinforce Clive's troops. They entered. The English occupied two pagodas located 400 meters away. The Indian troops slept around the

pagodas. But, for some obscure reason, shots broke out in the night. Believing that there was a brawl between Sepoys, Clive woke up 200 Europeans to restore order. He approached the little pagoda, passed through a formation of some French sepoys who were firing, and, believing that he had to deal with his own, ordered them to cease fire. One of them recognized him by the light of a lamp and fired two bullets at him; hurting him. Believing it to be a mutiny, Clive fired at him and forced him to flee to the small pagoda where he pursued him only to find himself face to face with six Frenchmen who summoned him to surrender. Clive then understood his mistake. Quick-witted, he had the reflex to cunning and announce to them that he himself had come to summon them to surrender, and that the pagoda was surrounded by his larger army. Disconcerted by this lie, the six Frenchmen did not dare to kill the English commander. Three remained with him, and three others went to the great pagoda to announce the summons to the French. The latter refused to surrender, but Clive took advantage of the night and confusion to make his escape under cover of night, away from his three "prisoners". The fight resumed with renewed vigor, bloodier than ever, in total darkness. The English troops, more than six times as numerous, ended up dominating the situation. The French Sepoys then left the camp but the Mahratte Cavalry pursued them and exterminated them. As for the English deserters, despairing of being in danger of being captured and hanged by their countrymen on gallows of His Gracious Majesty, they fought with the energy of despair, putting once more in great danger the life of Clive. At the end of the desperate fight, all the surviving deserters were effectively hanged.

On the 20th of May, Major Lawrence sent Captain Dalton at the head of 150 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, 500 Mahratte cavalry, and 4 pieces of artillery, to attack d'Auteuil, which was at *Outatour,* with 120 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, and 4 pieces of artillery. A fierce fight took place in front of the city, but this time, despite their

numerical superiority, the English suffered a defeat. Meanwhile, because of Law de Lauriston's incompetence and his successive tactical errors, desertions multiplied at a galloping rate among the Indian troops. But he still had his 800 Frenchmen and 2,000 well-trained Sepoys, not to mention the 3 or 4,000 men who still remained Chanda-Sahïb's. With these troops still loyal, a Bussy would have reversed the situation, but Law, despite Chanda-Sahïb's urgent advice, refused to budge. From a besieger, he had voluntarily turned into a besieged on the island of Srirangam and he finally capitulated.

Consequence of this French defeat: By remaining inactive, Law settled the fate not only of French interests in India, but also of Chanda-Sahïb, which had always been loyal to the French[527]. On June 13th, 1752, Law's shameful capitulation came into effect: 35 officers, 785 marines, and 2,000 Sepoys surrendered themselves and 41 cannons and an immense quantity of ammunition. Within 11 months, Law de Lauriston and Clive had completely turned the situation around. The catastrophic campaign of this general on the one hand, and the genius of Clive on the other, had completely reversed the position of France and England in the Indies, consequence of undue protection at Versailles. We even wondered if Law de Lauriston hadn't gone over to the English side[528].

[527] Before he shamefully capitulated, Law de Lauriston entered into negotiations with Manakji, a general of the army of the Raja of Tanjore, who swore to protect the life of the fugitive nawab Chanda-Sahïb, but as soon as the latter was in his hands, he delivered him up to Lawrence, who was not bound by the promise. The latter allowed Chanda Sahïb to be beheaded by his political rival Mohamed-Ali.

[528] Everything indicates that branches of the Law de Lauriston family (and the Law de Lauriston-Boubers line) are still established in France today. The Château de Colembert (Pas-de-Calais) is listed as belonging to the Law de Lauriston-Boubers family; the town's website even specifies that "his grandson, Baron Olivier Law de Lauriston-Boubers, is the current owner." The family is well documented in French genealogical and historical records, confirming its long-standing presence in France since the 18th century. The National Archives preserve papers from the family (18th–19th centuries), another sign of an old and continuous French connection.

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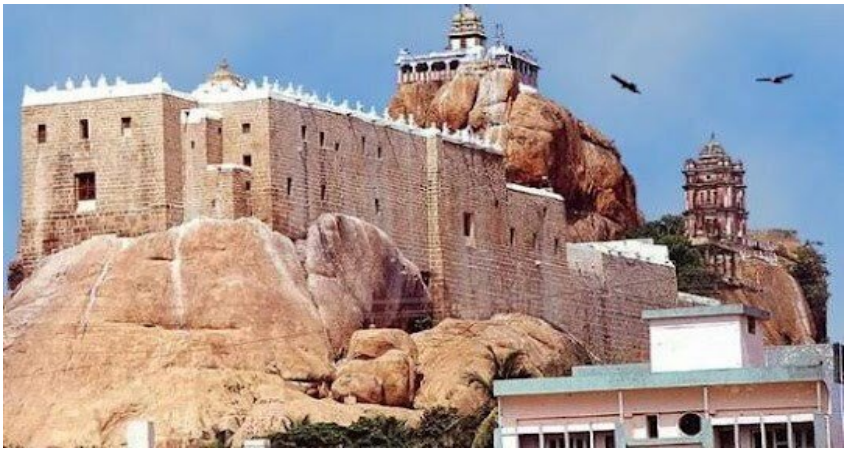

The old fort of Trichinopoly (**Tiruchirappalli** today) The Rock Fort of Tiruchirappalli, also called Malaikottai, is a historic fortress located in the city of Tiruchirappalli, India. It is built on an 83-meter-high rock and includes fortifications and temples. Tiruchirappalli, one of the oldest cities in Tamil Nadu, was an important citadel, mentioned by Ptolemy in the 2nd century B.C, Priv.Coll

Operations about the siege of Trichinopoly.

Date of the action: 1753 - 1754.

Location: One of the capitals of Indian Carnatic. Geographical co-ordinates: 10° 49' north latitude, and 78° 41' east longitude[529]. Conflict: France and England had been officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748].

Context: The French soldiers that Dupleix had at his disposal in India was nothing but a collection of undisciplined vagabonds. Wanting to attempt a new siege of Trichinopoly, still blocked by Naud-Rajah's hordes, the indefatigable Dupleix, who had appointed Maissin chief of the French army, told him that the first effort was to retake Tiravidi in order to cut the English logistical lines with Fort Saint-David, 10 km away, and to keep a passage through the Panar, river that bathed one of the sides of the camp to be created.

Chiefs in attendance ♦*English*: Major Stringer Lawrence; Mohamed-Ali. ♦*French* : Colonel Jacques Maissin; Morari Rao, then Monsieur d'Astruc; de Brénier; de Mainville; and finally the most "unglorious", Godeheu de Zaimont[530].

Troops ♦Numbers varied considerably during the siege, sometimes giving numerical superiority to some, sometimes to others.

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[529] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, April 13, 1753.
[530] Charles Robert de Godeheu de Zaimont. He was Governor of the French Indies from 15 October 1754 to February 1755. He landed at Pondicherry on 1 Aug. 1753, and relieved Dupleix of all his titles and functions. He was the gravedigger of French India."

Strategy or Tactics: The French camp, installed on a hillside and protected on one of its flanks by a large pond, seemed solid. Trichinopoly was a rectangular city, surrounded by two walls, the outer one of which had no parapet walk[531]. In accordance with Dupleix's advice, Maissin attacked *in the English style*, that is, wearing down the enemy as much as possible with Indian troops without worrying about casualties, and keeping the Europeans in tactical reserve, then launching the latter (the Europeans) to complete the battle by tipping the victory to his side.

But Dupleix was soon to realize that the English were tougher than he could have believed. London, which could not defeat Dupleix on the Indian military terrain, had the good idea to ambush him *in the jungle of the Versailles Court.* The English diplomats, who were perfectly familiar with the self-destructive mentality of the French, made so many slanders in fact that Dupleix fell out of favor with his own King and was replaced by the wretched De Godeheu. The latter was considered by the history of France as the *Great Liquidator of the French Indies*[532]. This disgrace was a great victory to the credit of the English.

Summary of the action : On January 14, Colonel Maissin and Morari Rao, with 360 French Grenadiers[533], 2,000 Sepoys and 4,000 Mahratte cavalry, left *Valdaour* and occupied the ground designated by Dupleix to besiege *Tiravidi* where Muhammad Ali was standing. Maissin erected a series of shoulders and works which soon formed a set of fairly solid fortifications. Knowing the

[531] A detail that was to have a catastrophic impact during a French assault.
[532] So much so that the de Godeheu family, although a member in good and due form of the Corps de la Bourgeoisie, had to change its name so as not to be the target of the mockery of the same Court of Versailles that had thrown the great Dupleix into the mud. The Lally-Tollendals, who, with the Godeheus, carried the torch of this criminal incompetence, also changed their surname. It only takes one infamous ancestor to cover with opprobrium an entire line of good citizens. His descendants now live in the United States, a perfect refuge for those who want to disappear.
[533] These bad boys dressed as Grenadiers.

low value of his troops, Jacques Maissin was ordered to content himself with harassing the English and not to launch sophisticated or large-scale operations. His mission was to cut the logistics lines. The French therefore attacked all the supply convoys. Little by little, the "Grenadiers" hardened in battle. When the Mahratte Cavalry attacked, a column of French Infantry came out of the entrenchments to overcome them. The English were soon reduced to no longer attempting any transport to Tiravidi, besieged by the French, without having it escorted by considerable forces[534]. Major Lawrence was very worried about the troops stranded in Trichinopoly who were suffering from starvation. This city remained the keystone of English power in India. Lawrence therefore decided to drive Maissin out of his fortifications in Tiravidi. He gathered together 600 English and 2,000 Sepoys, and attacked; but the momentum of the English troops was broken, with considerable casualties, against the French fortifications. They drew back. Seeing that he could not hope to take the French camp without artillery[535] preparation, Lawrence had the embankment of the work bombarded in order to make a breach. He brought in large 24-pounder guns and erected a battery which began to pound the earthworks. After a day or two of bombardment, the entrenchments having barely begun, it became clear to him that this was not the right solution. The English cannonballs sank into the sand and earth without causing any serious damage. Suspicious, Lawrence withdrew his battery so that it would not be captured by the French who could mount a surprise counterattack. Then he remained inactive for a few days, not knowing what to do. He then received an urgent call from Dalton, who commanded the garrison of Trichinopoly, announcing that his garrison was reduced to a daily food ration. Without hesitation, Lawrence left at Tiravidi, in front of the French, a

[534] This unduly mobilized manpower.
[535] It is also surprising that Lawrence had his troops attacked without artillery preparation. The reason for this was that the Sepoys and other native troops formed the first waves and the losses were barely counted.

curtain of 150 Englishmen, returned to Gondelour, loaded a convoy of supplies, and, at the head of 650 European grenadiers, set out for Trichinopoly. Having too few Europeans in his army[536] to oppose the English directly, Dupleix, the governor of the French Indies, sent 200 men as reinforcements to Mysore, under the command of Astruc, who was besieging that city. He also gave 50 Frenchmen to Mortiz-Ali, the Velvet Nabob, to help him clear the South Carnatic. Mortiz Ali acquitted himself very well. He also ordered Maissin, who was besieging Tiravidi[537], to take the city as quickly as possible, in order to come and give a hand to Trichinopoly. Maissin stormed the city of Tiravidi, very quickly in spite of a strong defense[538]. He also captured Chilambrun and Vedra-chelum. Thus, the English strongpoints of the Carnatic had fallen. Maissin could turn towards Trichinopoly, the last English defense boulevard.

Astruc had reached the island of Srirangam in front of Trichinopoly and made his junction with the besiegers[539] twenty-four hours before Major Lawrence. But, being too weak, he had been unable to do anything to prevent the arrival of English reinforcements. He remained entrenched on the island and in its fortified pagoda, his main point of support. Lawrence, who had the number and value[540] of five, would, of course, have wanted to attempt a general battle, while Astruc with his numerous Mahratte Cavalry, contented himself with harassing attacks against the logistics convoys and also against the English foragers.

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[536] And above all, insufficiently trained

[537] The situation may seem complex and confusing to the reader. To clarify, let's say that Maissin was besieging Tiravidi and Lawrence had come to harass the circumvallation lines of the French in order to interrupt Maissin's operation. (sic!)

[538] And the presence of English troops not only in the garrison but also outside; the latter harassed and blocked his circumvallation lines.

[539] Commissioned by Naud Rajah.

[540] His soldiers had gradually become veterans, and he had also received many Swiss mercenaries hired and paid by the British army for the benefit of the British East India Company.

Maissin, himself harassed by the letters of Dupleix, who had previously exhorted him to hasten to take the city of Tiravidi, arrived to reinforce Astruc. The French finally acquired a little more numerical equality with 450 European infantry and 1,500 Sepoys, not counting the 8,000 Cavalry of Mysore[541] and the army of Morari Rao[542]. The English, on the other hand, could field 600 Europeans[543], 1,300 Sepoys and a hundred cavalry. Disease and desertion had melted their Indian numbers. They could also theoretically count on Muhammad Ali's army, but he was cautiously enclosed within the impressive walls of Trichinopoly. Lawrence knew that the quality of the troops was in his favour, not to mention his numerical superiority in European troops. He therefore refused to lock himself in the fortress, preferring to maneuver in the wild. Dupleix, from Pondicherry, ordered Astruc to leave the island of Srirangam and reoccupy the *Five Rocks* and the *Golden Rock,* the strongholds of any siege and keys to Trichinopoly. Astruc left a small garrison in the pagoda on the island of Srirangam, bypassed the city, attacked the *Five Rocks* from the flank, and captured it; to the great fury of Lawrence, who had made the mistake of leaving only a small garrison there. Immediately Astruc covered the base and sides of this mountain of the *Five Rocks* with entrenchments and parapets. The French worked all night, and the next day, when the English army arrived to retake this key post, Astruc was waiting for him. By successive assaults, the English tried to seize the French works, but failed completely. The fire of the French Grenadiers, whose lines were staggered on the steep slopes, forced them to retreat. The capture of this post brought Lawrence's English soliers under fire from the French guns, and he had to move away, but he was stubbornly preparing to launch a new attack when they heard the sound of gunfire coming from the direction of the *Roche-*

[541] In the meantime, they had come to join them.
[542] 2000 cavalry and 2000 infantry.
[543] Let us not forget that, at that time, it was the European troops that constituted the predominant force of an army.

d'Or. It was the French Grenadiers that Monsieur d'Astruc had just launched to attack the English garrison posted at the summit. The fight was fierce but short, and the survivors of the English garrison soon rushed down the slopes to take refuge with Lawrence, who rushed to help. Greatly depressed by this new setback, Lawrence took 430 European soldiers and charged forward. As he approached the Roche-d'Or, a heavy fire of musketry and artillery came from the hill and pinned him to the ground. Seeing that he could not make himself master of it from the front, he made an extremely effective decision. He sent a corps of English and Sepoys round the hill, climb it in silence from the rear, drive out the few soldiers who were on the summit to guard it, and then, this done, pour a cloud of projectiles on Astruc's French Corps drawn up in battle on the left of the height. Lawrence himself would attack Astruc head-on with his Grenadiers and Sepoys. The action will take place as planned. Astruc waited until the English were within 50 paces. He then ordered the Mahratte and Mysorian Cavalry to charge them from the flank and rear simultaneously. The squadrons of Cavalry shook and the English frontal attack began to relent, when, suddenly, violent discharges resounded on the right of the French[544]. It was the Corps of English and Sepoys who had succeeded in taking the hill from the rear. Seeing that this attack from the rear threw the French troops into confusion, Lawrence immediately resumed his frontal assault with the bayonet, which threw the unseasoned troops of Astruc into disarray and panic.

Deaf to the call of their officers who tried to rally them, the French Grenadiers retreated and scattered under the bullets of the Anglo-Indians. It was then that Morari-Rao's Mahratte Cavalry charged with enthusiasm and stopped the English, preventing them from pursuing the French in complete confusion. The brave Indian horsemen even sought to dispute the battlefield with the English

[544] The right leaning against the hill.

by launching several assaults on the English square, which was forced to halt to direct *a rolling fire,* a continuous fire on them [the Indians], who at last retreated. After this action, Astruc left the command to Brénier. The latter contented himself with blockading the city, which was soon reduced to the worst famine. Lawrence, who had only a hundred horse, could not hope to defeat the Mahratte Cavalry. He therefore decided to move on to *Tanjor*e in order to bring back a convoy of provisions [mouth munitions and ammunitions] under good escort. Dupleix then exhorted [by letter] Brénier, either to attack the city of Trichinopoly and storm it, or to assault the logistic convoy to destroy it as soon as it appeared. But Brénier hesitated, like Law in the past. He hesitated so long that Lawrence had time to return to come up against the French lines, which were too extensive for their small numbers. In fact, the French troops were to garrison *Srirangam, Veiconda*, the *Sugarloaf*, the *French Rock* and the *Kavari*. Lawrence left the convoy behind and advanced with his reinforced army[545]. At that precise moment he had 620 Europeans, 1,300 militarily well-trained Sepoys and more than 5,000 Cavalry, or 7,000 men. Wishing to save his good troops, Lawrence used cunning; he pretended to want to attack the *Sugarloaf*, and when he saw that Brenier had cleared *the Golden Rock*, he attacked it and took it without much difficulty. Brénier tried to take over this post but failed[546]. Seeing Brénier standing idle and motionless on *Sugarloaf*, Lawrence resolved to trike by surprise. He sent 500 Europeans to fall upon him from the rear, while Dalton sallied from Trichinopoly to attack the French from the front. This time, however, the French Grenadiersheld their ground with greater discipline. Though decimated, they poured out a dense fire that inflicted heavy losses on the English before retreating towards Veiconda.

[545] Reinforced by 170 English and 5000 Tanjorians.
[546] He launched a second assault, without any more result.

Brénier might still have reversed the tide had he launched his troops at once. Instead, he hesitated, and did not order the assault until his Grenadiers were already in full retreat. At the first English volleys, his men disbanded and scattered to the Five Rocks and Veiconda. After this reverse, Astruc returned to assume command of the besieging French army, bringing a reinforcement of 400 fresh European, 2,000 Sepoys, 6 cannons and 3,000 Mahratte Cavalry. With this force, which gave him numerical superiority, Dupleix urged Astruc to resume the offensive against the English. Yet Lawrence's audacity daunted him, and he let the moment pass. Meanwhile, Lawrence himself was reinforced by 187 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, restoring parity between the two armies and enabling him to take the initiative once more.

On September 27, at 3:00 a.m., he threw himself with all his forces on the camp of Naude-Rajah, who, without resisting, fell back on the French posts of *La-Roche-d'Or* and *Pain-de-Sucre,* which in turn were plunged into confusion. In the darkness, the soldiers turned their guns on one another [friendly fire]. Lawrence turned the French, charged them, and drove them back to the Kavari River, which they forded as best they could, abandoning 11 guns and 200 killed or wounded with 100 prisoners. Stubborn, Dupleix found a new military commander whom he hoped would be better: *Mainville*.[547] He ordered him to try to take Trichinopoly by escalade ladders. During the night of November 27-28, 1753, Mainville crossed the Kavari with 600 Grenadiers and removed the work that covered the city gate. It was necessary to climb the walls or blow up the door as quickly as possible to enter, but the alarm was quickly given by the Indian sentries, and the fusillade woke up

[547] Pennemarc'h de Mainville était officier des troupes de la Compagnie des Indes, capitaine au régiment de Pondichéry (milieu des années 1750).recherche-anom.culture.gouv.fr+1 Il sert sous Dupleix et de Bussy pendant les guerres du Carnatique. In the Deccan (Hyderabad), Bussy entrusted Goupil and Mainville with the collection of revenues; Dupleix later called them to order for granting excessive 'gratifications'—an episode well known in historiography."

the English garrison. The ladders were then erected against the walls, but the French soldiers realized that the curtain walls had no walkways and that they had to lie down on the wall to let the others climb, because only a thin staircase allowed them to descend from the ramparts to reach... the foot of the second wall! Caught in this mousetrap, the French crowded on the walls or between the two ramparts without being able to move. The day surprised them in this not only uncomfortable but deadly position. Then they tried to retreat under the fire of the English and the Hindus, who were now firing from the top of the inner wall. French losses were enormous: 420 soldiers were killed or taken prisoner. Dupleix, to whom a messenger had been sent to announce very prematurely the capture of the first rampart, received the news of the defeat a few hours later. But this did not discourage his unwavering temperament. He simply resumed negotiations with the English to prevent them from reaping the fruits of their success. He wrote to Saunders and proposed that plenipotentiaries be appointed. Saunders agreed, and the deputies assembled on January 22nd, 1754, at Sadras; but the negotiations led nowhere, the proposals being irreconcilable. In fact, Dupleix only wanted to gain time.

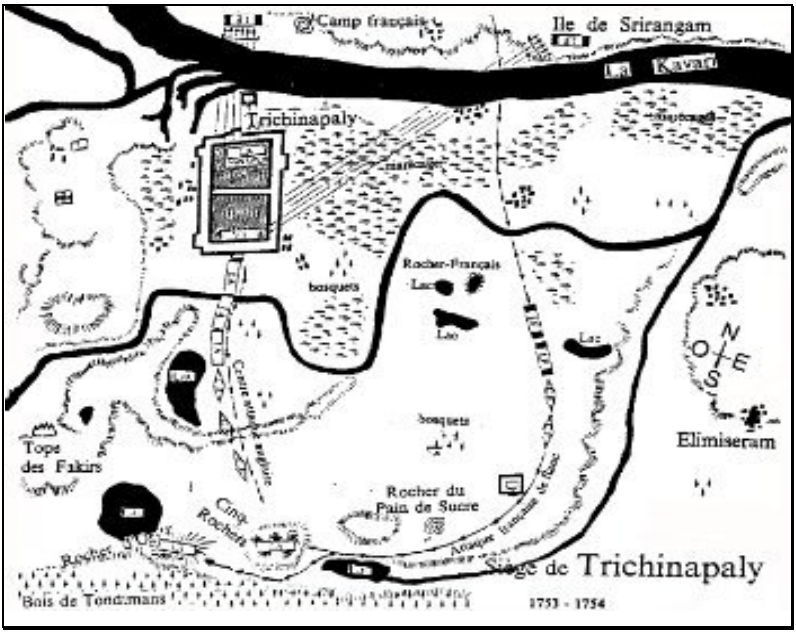
The English government, unable to defeat Dupleix by force of arms in the Indian subcontinent, changed tactics and pressured Louis XV to recall the French administrator to France. On October 12th, 1754, Dupleix, disgraced, and his Indian wife, *the begum Jeanne*, left India forever, to the great scandal of the Nabobs and princes allied with the French. Morari_Rao therefore abandoned the siege of Trichinopoly. Mortiz_Ali, the Nabob of Vallore, shut himself up in his capital. Only Naud-Rajah remained with the French, who were still investing Trichinopoly. His replacement at the head of the French Indies, Governor Godeheu, sought neither to hold them back nor to take advantage of his numerical

superiority[548] to drive out the English, who were now less numerous. He remained totally inactive. When Lawrence formed a convoy to supply Trichinopoly once again at the last extremity, Maissin, who commanded the troops on the condition that he "fight only under duress and force[549]," heavily garrisoned the slopes of *Sugarloaf,* and, with the rest of his troops, advanced to meet the English, hoping that the English would attack him so that he could give battle "under duress and force." But Lawrence, aware of Godeheu's pusillanimous orders, was careful not to attack the French and give them a pretext for battle. He simply skirted the French positions, under their noses, no doubt with an ironic smile, and continued his march without even turning his head. Maissin tried to have the Mysorian horsemen attacked[550], in order to create a pretext, but they refused. Then he "thought it his duty to follow the orders he had received and not to fight, since he was not forced to do so[551]." To add insult to injury, a few days later, Godeheu ordered Maissin to abandon all French positions around Trichinopoly and take refuge on the island of Srirangam. Then he had him retreat to Pondicherry itself, abandoning the siege of Trichinopoly altogether. On December 26th, 1754, Governor Godeheu signed the convention that put an end to the French conquest of the Indies.

Losses ♦Heavy losses on both sides but not accounted for.

[548] 3,000 French soldiers! Numbers never reached under Dupleix! But, as Napoleon said, an army of lions commanded by a sheep is less formidable than an army of sheeps commanded by a lion.
[549] According to Godeheu's express orders.
[550] Mysore is a state and city in southern India. They were spelled out in the old documents Missour or Maïssour.
[551] Letter from Maissin to Godeheu.

As a consequence of this French defeat, Godeheu can be considered the great liquidator of the French Indies. Once again the protection of the Greats, the intrigues of alcoves and the Versailles frogging had led to deplorable consequences. The so-called Treaty of Godeheu which put an end to the French Indies [1755] specified that the two companies, English and French, renounced all the territories and advantages acquired since the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; the English company, which had acquired nothing, lost nothing; the French company abandoned immense territories with 30 million subjects or protégés. It was a treatise of fools.



SOURCES & FURTHER READING *♦La Ronce de Colombel et Elie de Beaumont , Mémoire et consultation pour les sieurs Montagniés de la Roque, major et commandant du bataillon de l'Inde, de SaintPaul, capitaine de grenadiers, de Colombel, de La Salle Marihaure, Beylié et le chevalier de Tilly, capitaines...* ***(contre le sieur Boyelleau, administrateur intérimaire de Pondichéry,*** en l'absence du gouverneur Law de Lauriston), Publication de l'Imprimerie ***de L. Cellot, Paris, 1768.*** *♦Plan of the City and the country about Trichinapoly, with the Encampments of the English & French Army; that of the English commanded by Colonel Stringer Lawrence, in the years 1753 & 1754. To his Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland ... this Plan ... is inscrib'd by ... John Rocque*, ***etc. [Scale, 3 5/8 inches = 1 mile], J. Rocque, Londres, 1757.*** ***♦A. J. Guy,*** *The standing army under George II and the Duke of Cumberland 17271763; Command, regimental administration and finance*, ***University of Oxford, Oxford,1982***

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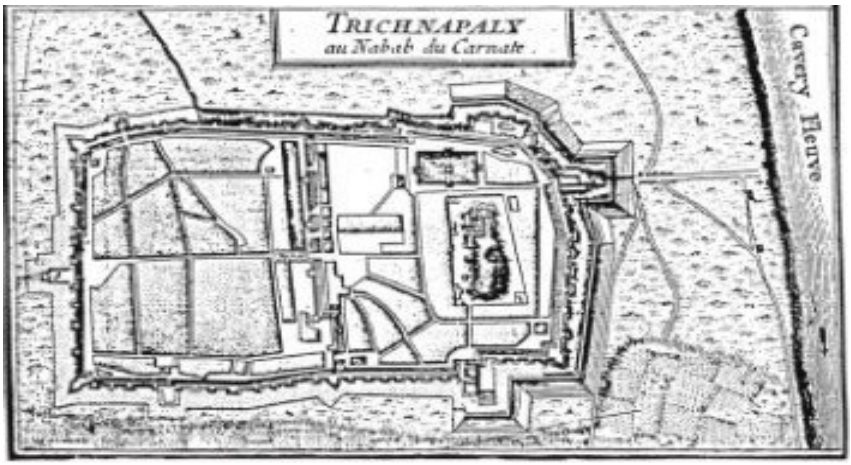
Tiruchirappalli also spelled Tiruchchirappalli, formerly Trichinopoly, Trichnapaky,



Trichenapaly or Trichinapali, commonly known as Tiruchi or Trichy, is a large city in southeastern India, located in the center of the state of Tamil Nadu. It was the citadel of the first Cholas (former Tamil dynasty). The city is mentioned by Ptolemy in the second century BC. Uraiyur, which served as the capital of the first Cholas of the third century B.C. in the third century AD, is a suburb of present-day Tiruchirapalli. Priv.Coll.

Battle of Valdaour.

Date of the action: April 3, 1749.

Location: Valdavur, Valdavour, Indian Carnatic. Town located 20 km NW of Pondicherry[552].

Conflict: France and England were officially at peace. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had just been signed in 1748.

Background: During the negotiations that preceded the capture of Tanjore [1749], Rajah Partab Singh had deliberately let the discussions drag on to give time for Nasir Jung, an ally of the British, to raise a huge army and march to crush his nephew and rival Chanda Sahïb. The English had suggested this plan to the rajah so that he would drag out the negotiations. After the capture of one of the gates of the city of Tanjore by the French, the rajah gained several more weeks by delaying the payment of the sums stipulated by the treaty of capitulation. Messages from Dupleix insisted that the Franco-Indians occupy the city, not only to punish the rajah but above all to take refuge there, because, according to the French administrator, a huge army commanded by Nasir Jung had entered the Carnatic. Learning of this, the Indian troops of Chanda-Sahïb refused to continue the campaign and quickly retreated to Pondicherry to take refuge; it was 40,000 disorganized men, half-mutinied[553] under the walls of Pondicherry, and panicked by the arrival of the enormous army of 300,000 men, including 150,000 cavalry, 800 pieces of artillery and 1300 elephants. This army was coming

[552] See toponymic map in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, April 13, 1753.
[553] 22They demanded their pay; it was quite legitimate!

from Arcot, where it had concentrated. On the way, it was joined by Murari Rao at the head of 10,000 Mahratte Cavalry, and[554] 20 km from Pondicherry, by 6,000 Cavalry of MohamedAli, ex-Nabob of Carnatic. In India more than elsewhere, *force attracted alliances*. In addition, an aggravating circumstance for the French, on April 2nd, 1750, Major Lawrence linked up with the Indian army at the head of an English corps of 600 Europeans. It was a desperate hour for the French. Learning of this, Dupleix restored some order to the 40,000 half-mutinous and panicked men of Chanda-Sahïb. Monsieur d'Auteuil took command of the French garrison[555]. The 42,000 men of the Franco-Indian army were ordered to march as quickly as possible, at the end of March, towards a fairly strong position, at Valdaour, facing the enemy camp. As always, the French opted for the offensive.

Commanders ♦*Franco-Indians:* Colonel Duquesne; Chanda-Sahïb[556]; Muzaffar Jung. ♦*Anglo-Indians*: Major Lawrence; Nasir Jung; Murari Rao; Muhammad Ali.

Troops engaged ♦*Anglo-Indian*: 300,000 Indian soldiers including 150,000 Cavalry; to these were added 16,000 Cavalry, 800 European Infantry, 800 cannons and 1300 elephants. ♦*Franco-Indians*: 800 European soldiers of the Marine Royale and 40,000 Indian Mohammedan Cavalry.

Strategy or Tactics: Despite the offensive choice, the Franco-Indians had to retreat; It was a retreat in a hurry, but in good order, and the rearguard managed to contain the pursuit.

Summary of the action: On April 3rd, 1749, the day on which the two armies exchanged a first artillery duel, 13 French officers, who

[554] 33Since we only lend to the rich.
[555] 44 2,000 men including the French-trained Sepoys.
[556] 55Chanda Sahïb or Chunda Sahïb was the nawab of Francophile Arcate.

had not received their pay for a long time, judged the moment quite opportune to go in delegation to Monsieur d'Auteuil in order to hand in their immediate resignation. They had just advised their own troops to do the same. What was the use of being killed for the interests of the Parisian shareholders of the *Compagnie des Indes* when they were refused the slightest blood price, so trifling a futile? We understand them. D'Auteuil knew that the French refusal to obey would lead to the rout of Muzaffar Jung's and Chanda-Sahïb's army, as well as a decline in French prestige in India. He tried to reason with the officers, who remained intractable. D'Auteuil, who had no personal money, therefore resolved to retire. At midnight, the French began to pack up and retreat without any orders. In fact, the disorder was such that the 40 French artillerymen, who were to serve the 12 guns in front of the camp, were left behind. Then Chanda Sahïb insisted on forming with his Cavalry the dangerous rearguard. At dawn, the retreat was discovered by the Anglo-Indians. Immediately there was a rush. Murari Rao, at the head of 10,000 Mahratte Cavalry, pursued the enemy army and caught up with it at the first defenses of Pondicherry. D'Auteuil formed his 800 men in a hollow square while Chanda-Sahïb stood ready to counterattack with his cavalry. Murari Rao rushed at the head of his men, and entered the French square with 15 of his horsemen. Chanda-Sahïb's counterattack prevented other horsemen from following them. Finding himself caught in the French square, Murari Rao desperately set off and managed to break through and get out of the square with six surviving horsemen. The French square fought by moving towards the thorny hedge which served as the first line of defense around Pondicherry. There, Murari Rao retreated.

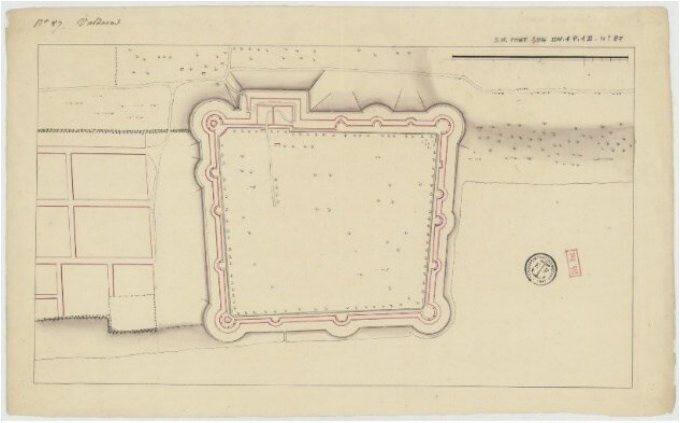
Casualties ♦The French lost 19 men, in addition to the 40 artillerymen left at Valdaour[557].

As a consequence of this Franco-Indian defeat , Dupleix's plans to install Francophile rajahs were annihilated by the desertion of the protesting French officers. All these officers were arrested, and d'Auteuil himself tried for having retreated without orders. Without being a real defeat since the French army had managed to get out of the situation without too much difficulty, this defection lowered the prestige of the French for a while. So, in order to re-establish it, d'Auteuil detached 300 men, 8 days later on the night of April 12; under the command of La Touche, they attacked Murari Rao's camp at night and killed 1200 men. The French lost only 3 men. Seized with fear, Nasir Jung returned to Arcot, abandoning the English who went to lock themselves up in Fort Saint-David. This simple helping hand had restored the situation, as well as a great victory.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Robert Orme, A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, from the Year MDCCXLV [1745] to Which is Prefixed a Dissertation on the Establishments made by Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan, 2 volumes, 4e Édition revue et corrigée, Pharaoah and Co, Madras, 1861. ♦Compagnie des Indes, Memoire pour la Compagnie des Indes contre le Sieur Dupleix, sans données de publication, 1763. ♦Alfred Martineau, Dupleix, sa vie et son oeuvre, Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, Paris, 1931. ♦Alfred Martineau, Les dernières années de Dupleix; ses dettes, son procès avec la Compagnie des Indes. Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, Paris, 1929.

[557] Some were killed, others taken prisoner by the English.

Fort Valdaour, India. Bibliothèque nationale of France.



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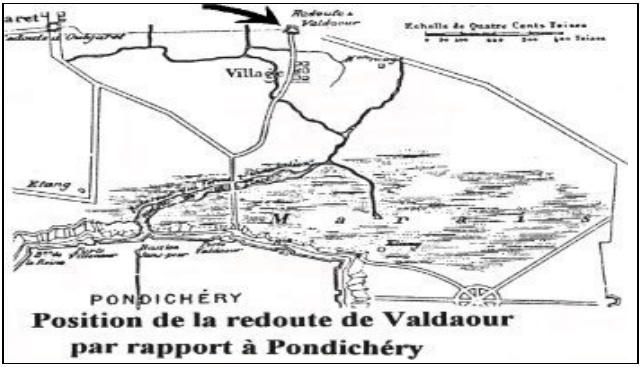

Position de la redoute de Valdaour par rapport à Pondichéry

Attack at Vescac.

Date of the action: 15 February 1751.

Location: Vescac, Wescac or Weskak is located in Acadia, North America. Today Westcock. Geographical coordinates: 45°86' north latitude and 64°36' west longitude.

Conflict: France and England had been officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748].

Context: Since the cession of French Acadia to England [i.e., after the Treaty of Utrecht], guerrilla warfare had been raging in this North American sector.

Chefs in attendance ♦*French* Monsieur de Bailleul[558]. ♦*English*: unknown

Low number of recruits ♦a few dozen men on either side.

Strategy or Tactics: Guerrilla warfare of the "strike and stall" type.

Summary of the action: About 15 Feb. 1751 a ship going from Boston to Beaubassin was driven to the coast [at Vescac] by a storm. The French arrived quickly, attacked the boat, entrenched behind trees, and the captain capitulated to Monsieur de Bailleul

[558] Pierre Odet (or Audet) de Piercot de Bailleul, dit Bailleul Canut", son of Louis Odet de Piercot and Marie-Anne Trottier, born in Montréal in 1724. He is documented as having been an ensign in 1750 (ensign *second* in April 1750) and rising to higher ranks later. The same source notes that his father, Louis Audet-Pierrecot (or Louis-Odet Piercot), Sieur de Bailleul, was an officer in the colonial (marine) troops, born circa 1674, immigrated to Québec in 1696, and died in 1738.

who commanded Vescac. But Bailleul soon learned that the Micmac Indians, allies of the French, were arriving. He hid the English prisoners in the mill of Vescac, from where they were taken to Près-des-Bourgs. When the Indians arrived at the English vessel, which was laden with rum, sugar, coffee, Madeira wine, planks, planks, and various articles, they plundered it completely. For two days they were in a state of intoxication in spite of the efforts of the Abbé Le Loutre. After the plunder, the English ship was set on fire by the Indians.

Casualties ♦*French*: none. ♦*English*: 25 prisoners.

As a result of this English defeat, two or three days later, Saint-Ours sent the English crew to Fort Lawrence in order to put them definitively out of the reach of the Indians, who, drunk, were clamoring for them in order to torture and massacre them. Lawrence wrote a letter of thanks to Saint-Ours.

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Naomi Elizabeth Saundaus Griffiths, The Acadian deportation, deliberate perfidy or cruel necessity? Copp Clark Pub. Co, Toronto, c1969. ♦Bona ARSENAULT, Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens, 6 vol. Tome 1 : Histoire des Acadiens, tome 2 : Port Royal, tome 3 : Beaubassin, Lemeac, Montréal, 1978. ♦Émile Lauvrière, Brève histoire tragique du peuple acadien; son martyre et sa résurrection, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Paris, 1947. ♦Azarie Couillard-Després, En marge de La tragédie d'un peuple de M. Emile Lauvrière, ou Erreurs sur l'histoire de l'Acadie réfutées, Desclée de Brouwer, Bruges, Belgique, 1925.

The site of Vescac (Westcock after ‘‘le Grand Dérangement’’ or Acadian ethnic cleansing.)

Attack on Vescac.

Date of the action: July 2, 1751.

Location: Vescac, Wescac or Weskak is located in Acadia, North America. Today Westcock Geographical coordinates: 45°86' north latitude and 64°36' west longitude.

Conflict: France and England had been officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748].

Context: Guerrilla warfare triggered by the cession of French Acadia to England by the Treaty of Utrecht.

Chefs in attendance ♦*English*: Unknown. ♦*French*: Monsieur de Beaurans, an officer of the troops of Louisbourg.

Troops: ♦*French*: 20 men. ♦*English*: Unknown.

Strategy or Tactics: The effect of Acadian guerrilla warfare was to force the English to maintain permanent garrisons in Nova Scotia, and thus to disperse their vital forces. This region was very marshy.

Summary of the action : The English captain of a vessel, anchored opposite Vescac, sent an armed canoe to seize a canoe that was in the river. M. de Saint-Ours, having been warned, sent M. de Beaurans, an officer of the troops of Louisbourg, with 20 men, to thwart this mission; but they arrived too late, the canoe was taken. When the English saw this troop, they fired two cannon shots, which missed their objective. Towards the beginning of July, a schooner

coming from Boston bound for Beaubassin[559], ran aground on the coast within range of the French guns, about opposite the English ship anchored in front of Vescac. The Indians, Acadians, and Canadians rushed to the ship, and at low tide stormed it after a brief fight. Saint-Ours sent Léry and Montesson [Canadian officers] as well as Abbé Le Loutre, to save the English captain and crew from the hands of the Indians. When the vessel was entirely plundered, it was set on fire with the exception of the planks with which the Indians made huts for themselves. The same day, Mr. Hungerford Lutrell[560], the English commander of Fort Lawrence [at that time] wrote to Saint-Ours asking him to protect the crew of the English ship taken by the Indians and by the French Canadians. Two days later, Saint-Ours succeeded in having the English crew released and sent back to Fort Lawrence, on parole[561].

Casualties ♦a few *English* killed. ♦*French*: a few wounded.

As a result of this English defeat, Saint-Ours was unable to free the English crew from the hands of the Indians and the French Canadians any sooner, for the latter did not sober up for two days, and could not be persuaded to surrender them. Ironically, Abbé Le Loutre, a missionary whose head the English had put a price on because he was the leader of the anti-English guerrillas in Acadia, had to pay the ransoms of the English in order to prevent them from being massacred by the Indians. Hungerford contented himself with thanking Beaurans, who had escorted the freed English prisoners to Fort Lawrence, and omitted, no doubt on purpose, to

[559] It was carrying logistical supplies for Fort Lawrence.
[560] Hungerford Luttrell had come to Nova Scotia as an officer in the Warburton Foot Regiment [the 45th]. He was first transferred to Louisbourg until he was evacuated by the British, and then to Halifax. Promoted major, he became commander-in-chief of Fort Lawrence from the very beginning of 1751 until the fall. He took over from Commander Lawrence.
[561] On their word, that is, they undertook not to make war on the French for a certain period of time.

address the slightest thanks to Le Loutre, although he had been warned of the missionary's action[562].

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Tibulle Hamont, *Dupleix d'après sa correspondance inédite*, Plon et Cie, Paris, 1881. ♦Bona ARSENAULT, *Histoire et généalogie des Acadiens*, 6 vol. Tome 1 : *Histoire des Acadiens,* tome 2 : *Port Royal,* tome 3 : *Beaubassin,* Lemeac, Montréal, 1978. ♦Robert Rumilly, Robert, *Histoire des Acadiens*, Fides, Montréal, 1955.

[562] Moreover, English historians never mention that several of their fellow citizens were saved from death by this Catholic priest.

Battle of Vicravandi.

Date of the action: August 6, 1752.

Location: Vikravandi, Vieravandi, Indian Carnatic, Coromandel coast. City located 40 km west of Pondicherry. Geographical coordinates: 12°08' north latitude, and 79° 29' east longitude[563].

Conflict: France and England had been officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748].

Context: With the failure of Law de Lauriston before Trichinopoly, where the negligence of this leader had left French India in a desperate state, Dupleix had no more troops, and, as a logical consequence, no more Indian allies. On July 17, the English had captured Tiravidi held by a detachment of pro-French Sepoys. From that moment Major Gingens took command of the English troops, Major Clive being ill. Through diplomacy, Dupleix set out to sow distrust among the allies of the English: the new Nabob of the Carnatic MohamedAli, the Mysorians and the Mahrattes. When the annual reinforcements of troops, intended to fill the gaps left by the killed, arrived from France, he reconstituted a *small army of 500 Frenchmen*[564]*. According to Dupleix himself, they were the worst bunch of bad boys,* but they still had the appearance of a military garrison. The English governor Saunders finally sent orders to Major Gingens to detach part of his forces against Gingi, which was still held by the French. On the 3rd of August, the English Major Kinneer, who had just arrived from Europe, received from Gingens an army of 2,300 men, including 200 Europeans, 1,500 Sepoys, and 600 cavalry of the Nabob. His mission was to go and

[563] See the toponymic plan in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.
[564] From the Marine troops and sailors' crews.

retake the [French] fortress of Gingi, which Bussy had seized on September 11th, 1750. As soon as Dupleix learned of this, he sent a message to the commander of Gingi, ordering him to hold out at all costs, and he immediately organized, under the authority of his nephew Kerjean, a unit of 800 men[565], to occupy a position halfway between Pondicherry and Gingi. This position commanded a pass which the English had to cross. It therefore threatened English communications. Kinneer appeared before Gingi on 6 August, summoned the French commander of the town [Brénier] to surrender, and met with an immediate and ironic refusal. He was hesitating as to what to do, when he was informed that the French had taken possession of Vicravandi, behind him, and were cutting off his logistic lines of communication with Tiravidi.

Commanders present ♦*English*: Major Kinneer [or Kinneir]. ♦*French*: Commander Kerjean.

Troops engaged ♦*English*: 2,300 men including 200 European soldiers, 1,500 Sepoys and 600 cavalrymen of the Nabob. ♦*French*: 800 men including 300 French with 7 cannons.

Strategy or Tactics: Vicravandi was a junction of three routes from Pondicherry to Tiravidi and Gingi. From there, the French could cut off English communications. While Kerjean was on his way to Vicravandi, he received a long letter from his uncle Dupleix who told him: "*Do not repeat Law's fatal mistake of letting his army be destroyed in scattered detachments. Maintain cohesion and act in force. Follow, as closely as possible, the English method: at the outset, let only the Sepoys engage, while always holding the Europeans in reserve to support them, without exposing them*

[565] Including 300 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, with 7 cannons.

unnecessarily to enemy fire. In this way, the English preserve their whites — and you must do the same.[566]."

Summary of the action: The English Major Kinneer immediately retraced his steps and attacked the French positions. To draw the English before the strongest point, Kerjean gave orders to his outposts to withdraw without resistance as soon as the English arrived, so as to give them confidence and make them commit some imprudence. The English fell headlong into the trap. Advancing with resolute step, they soon reach the very muzzles of the French guns, separated only by a parapet — barriers that could not be carried save by a bitter and costly fight. They were thus under fire from the French guns. Kinneer was wounded. The English army[567] immediately began to give way. It was then that Kerjean attacked the English formation from the flank with 100 French soldiers. This manoeuvre was decisive. The fighting was fierce, but in the end, losing its footing despite the difference in numbers, the British army retreated in great disorder, leaving 40 killed on the field and a hundred wounded. Feeling the danger of finding himself caught in a combined movement of the garrison of Gingi and the troops of Kerjean, Kinneer hastened, while the road still remained clear, to effect his retreat to Tiravidi.

Casualties ♦*English*: 40 killed and a hundred wounded. Major Kinneer himself was severely wounded, which increased the panic in his army. ♦*French*: 5 killed.

Consequence of this English defeat: This defeat resulting from the panic was felt as shameful by the English who felt badly judged by the Indian populations: "*The disgrace brought on the British arms*

[566] Quoted in "Dupleix".
[567] Both Indian troops and Europeans.

by this affair was worse than the defeat[568]". Major Kinneer quickly recovered from his bodily wounds but soon fell ill again when he saw the effect of his defeat. On the other hand, this victory attracted to the French side several Indian alliances from the Carnatic, especially since shortly afterwards a company commanded by Captain Schauf was captured on the high seas by the French. The English denounced this act as contrary to the law of nations, the two countries not being at war; This shows the hypocrisy of diplomatic relations. But Dupleix replied that he was using the same right in capturing English soldiers at sea as the English in taking French soldiers on land; these soldiers preparing to attack the French possessions on the coast. The affair remained, but served in the Indian subcontinent to increase French prestige among the population. So much so that Dupleix received from the Subab of the Deccan[569], Salabut-Jung, his official appointment to the post of *Nabob of Carnatic* and of the whole country south of Kistna. Salabut-Jung recognized him as the holder of all the other honors conferred on him by Mozuffer-Jung. It was also announced to him that the Emperor Ahmed-Shah[570] would shortly send him confirmation by his

[568] Wrote an English military historian. "The disgrace that fell on the English arms as a result of this affair was worse than the defeat itself." [author's free translation]
[569] Or Deccan or Dekkan
[570] The Mongol emperor Ahmed-Shah [The Great Mogul or Mongol] was of the Timurid dynasty, that is to say, begotten by Tamerlane (Timur-Leng or Timur-the-Lame), himself descended from Genghis Khan. He reigned in Delhi. But since the death of Aureng-Zeyb in 1706, the Mongol Empire of India had been in full decline. The last of the Mongols of India was Shah Alem 17591806 II. The English empire was built on the spoils of this decaying Mongol empire, which had been erected in unimaginable violence. Thus, when Tamerlane captured Sivas, the capital of Armenia Minor, in 1400, a city that had reached its peak under the Byzantines and Seljuk [this city is now the capital of the vilayet of Sivas, in north-central Turkey, on the Anatolian plateau, at an altitude of 1200 m], he sacked the city and buried hundreds of thousands of Armenians alive after having massacred the soldiers of that nation. Mohamed II the Conqueror, sultan of Turkey between 1451 and 1481, rebuilt the fortress of Sivas and restored the city. This was not the only feat of this barbarian [Tamerlane]. He made his imagination "wander" in murderous madness: after having taken Delhi he had all its inhabitants slaughtered; in Baghdad, he raised a pyramid of 100,000 human heads. He was the Pol Pot of the fourteenth century. Thus, Armenians suffered mass massacres at times other than the twentieth century.

ambassador extraordinary. Not to be outdone, the King of France, Louis XV, named him *a marquis.*

SOURCES & FURTHER READING ♦Robert Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, from the Year* MDCCXLV *[1745] to Which is Prefixed a Dissertation on the Establishments made by Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan,* 2 volumes, 4e Édition revue et corrigée, Pharaoah and Co, Madras, 1861. ♦G. B. Malleson, *Lord Clive*, Collection: Rulers of India", Londres, 1890. ♦*A complete history of the War in India from 1749 to 1761*, *with an accurate detail of Colonel Clive's military transactions*, Londres, 1761 ♦The Carnatic. *Illustrating the Carnatic Wars 1740 to 1763*, Lokanandini Press, Triplicane, Madras, 1920. G. B. Malleson, *Lord Clive*, Collection: Rulers of India", Londres, 1890.

Battle of Villenour.

Date of the action: September 6, 1752.

Location: Villanore, Villenur; Indies. City located about fifteen kilometers south of Pondicherry[571].

Conflict: France and England were officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748]. Colonial rivalries in the Indies.

Context: Dupleix, governor of the French Indies, wanted to bring Morari Rao and the Mysorians into the French camp. The latter agreed on the condition that the French occupy the bulk of the English army so that they could continue their plan to attack Trichinopoly. To this end, Dupleix sent Kerjean[572] to tighten the blockade of the English fort Saint-David, so as to prevent any possible cooperation of the English with their garrison of Trichinopoly.

Leaders in command: ♦*English*: Major Lawrence[573]. ♦*French*: Colonel Kerjean[574].

Troops: ♦*British*: 2,500 men, including 500 Europeans. ♦French: 2,400 men, including 400 Europeans.

Strategy or Tactics: The French camp, installed on a hillside, protected on one of its sides by a large pond, seemed solidly seated.

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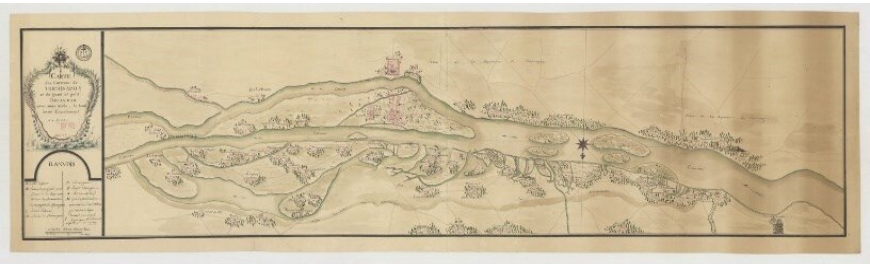
[571] See toponymic map in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, 13 April 1753.
[572] With 400 Europeans, 1,500 Sepoys and 500 native cavalry.
[573] Stringer Lawrence, English soldier who was born on March 6, 1697 in Hereford, England, and died in London on January 10, 1775.
[574] Colone Jacques de Kerjean was Joseph François Dupleix's nephew.

In India, all the local princes wanted to bet on the victor side, and the French victory at Vicravandi changed the strategic allegiances.

Summary of the action: On hearing the news of the bold movement of the French, Major Lawrence **(**who was determined to inflict a defeat on the French in order to try to win back the Indian Princes**)** gathered 500 Europeans and 1,000 Sepoys, and on the 27th of August advanced to meet the French. Dupleix, informed by his spies of the march of the English, sent his nephew Kerjean the order to fall back on Villenour and establish himself there. Colonel Kerjean obeyed. Lawrence risked an attack on the French camp on September 6th. The English assault, with bayonets, was bloody. It was a failure. The English lost many men and retreated in good order towards Bahour, closely pursued by the French troops.

Casualties: Heavy Casualties on the English side.

Consequence of this English defeat : At night, Kerjean halted in a place not very favorable to the defense. He set up a bivouac there. "The pleasure we had in seeing the enemy flee, the security in which we were that he thought only of this flight, prevented us from taking the usual precautions[575]."



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Map of the surroundings of the city of Trichinopoli. Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

[575] See Bahour 1752

Battle of Volkondah.

Date of the action: July 8, 1751.

Location: Volconde;Valikondapuram, Volcondapuram. City located 65 km from Trichinopoly, Coromandel Coast, Carnatic, India[576].

Conflict: France and England had been officially at peace since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle [1748]. But colonial rivalries were juxtaposed with the rivalries of Muslim and Hindu princes, who regarded the French and the English as their mercenaries.

Background : The objective was to take Trichinopoly. D'Auteuil had under his command 400 Frenchmen and 10,000 Hindus from Chanda-Sahïb. Upon learning of the arrival of the French, the English left Trichinopoly to try to intercept them. They headed for Volcondapuram, a town 65 km from Trichinopoly, to occupy the fortress before the French arrived. But the latter decided to outrun them, occupy the fortress, then march on the English, push them back towards Trichinopoly and enter on the heels of the English fugitives, as the French had done at Gingi. At these suggestions of Dupleix, Auteuil set out. The English captain Gingen, who commanded the Anglo-Indian army, was joined at the fortified pagoda of Veradachelum by 4,000 additional men sent by Mohamed Ali, and 100 Europeans supplied by Captain Cope. He therefore advanced to bar the road to Chanda Sahïb and the French, whose

[576] See toponymic map in the chapter of the battle of La Panar, April 13, 1753.

march he had learned of on Volcondah, a town situated 65 km from Trichinopoly, on the main road leading to that town.

Commanders ♦*Anglo-Indians*: Captain Gingens[577]. ♦*Franco-Indians*: Monsieur le Comte Combault d'Auteuil.

Troops engaged ♦*English*: 500 Europeans, 100 Africans and 1000 Sepoys with 8 guns.

Strategy or Tactics: Volcondah was an important fortress, due to its very strong natural position, and, moreover, very well fortified. One hundred kilometers from the coast, it blocked the main road Arcot-Trichinopoly. Its main defense consisted of a rock 70 meters high and 1,500 meters in circumference at its base. There, its foot was encircled by a high wall, largely hewn out of the rock. Near the summit, another wall, and a third crowned the summit. To the east of the rock, in the plain, stood a stone fort which adjoined a city lightly fortified by an earthen wall. The Valaru River, after flowing eastwards, formed an angle 1,500 meters north of Volcondah where it turned southwards and then passed close to the western face of the rock, went around it and ran eastwards, along the southern facades of the fort and the city. Captain Gingens set up camp in a large grove 2,000 meters S.W. of Volcondah. His outposts were in sight of those of Chanda-Sahïb, whose camp was located 6 or 7 km further north. When the governor of the city, who represented the Nabob of Carnatic, saw the rival forces advancing from various sides, like a good opportunistic Indian prince[578], he asked himself which of the two antagonists had the best chance of winning. A thorny question that could cost him his place and even his life. It was evident that a battle was imminent, and in the darkest uncertainty as to its results, he feared to declare himself prematurely for a party which might not have the upper hand, and thus

[577] Captain John [Jean] Rodolphe de Gingens, was a Swiss mercenary officer.
[578] In fact he was a Muslim.

alienate the victor. He therefore declared bluntly, as a very wise man, that the cession of the place depended on the outcome of the battle[579]. But in the meantime he listened quite complacently to the proposals made to him by the two parties. The march of Chanda Sahïb had been so slow that before his arrival before Volcondah, the English had had time to establish themselves in a tactically very advantageous position to the south-west of that city. It now became indispensable for the French either to occupy the city, or, by winning the governor to their cause, to demand the departure of the English. Chanda Sahïb spared neither persuasion nor promises [as the diplomat that he was] to achieve this last result.

The English commander, who was also trying to seduce the Indian governor by persuasive means, grew weary of the Indian's ambiguous conduct, and, after a fortnight of fruitless negotiations, resolved to obtain by force what he had not been able to obtain by promises[580]. On the 19th of July, without having informed the governor of his plans[581], Captain Gingens rushed upon the city with the greater part of his troops in order to seize it. The outer defenses and the city itself were soon in the hands of the assailants. But this unexpected attack and the burning of a few houses drew the attention of the fort's garrison, which opened fire on the invaders, soon forcing them to retreat. By way of reprisal against the over-hasty English, the governor summoned the French to his aid, and opened the city gates to them as well as to Chanda Sahïb. Patience had won the prize. That night, the French detachment under Monsieur d'Auteuil entered the fort and unlished so violent a fire upon the

[579] The situation is roughly similar to that of the Battle of Bosworth [England] on August 22, 1485, during the Wars of the Roses between King Richard III of England and Henry of Richmond. During this fight, two English nobles of the same name, Lord Stanley [5,000 men] and Sir William Stanley [5,000 men], stood apart from the battlefield, not knowing which side to take. They eventually joined the Anglo-French forces at Richmond and the Royal English army was defeated and Richard III massacred. See above.
[580] Which he had no intention of keeping.
[581] That goes without saying!

English that, despite the officers' efforts, the English soldiers abandoned their native allies and fell back in disorder, leaving on the battlefield 6 fine pieces of artillery, all their field logistical equipment, muskets and an enormous stock of ammunition. Shortly before the British withdrew, one of Chanda-Sahïb's generals, whose assessment of the situation was manifestly wrong, betrayed and went over to the British with 4,000 horses, arms and baggage. An unfortunate betrayal for him; The defector immediately realized that he had bet on the wrong horse when he saw his new allies leave the battlefield abandoning their own weapons!

One last tactical feature to be mentioned: d'Auteuil, taken back by a violent gout, did not give the order to pursue the fleeing English, which could have annihilated their army. The French therefore contented themselves with bombarding the north bank of the little river of Vellaur which the English had crossed in their flight. A pursuit could therefore have been decisive. With Gingens' 500 men annihilated, England could no longer field a company in India. It had only the garrison of Trichinopoly, the 180 soldiers of Cope, for, for this expedition, the English command had completely emptied Madras and Fort Saint-David. Mohamed Ali was in no condition to resist alone. A vigorous pursuit ordered by d'Auteuil would have determined the fall of Trichinopoly and the end of the pro-English pretender. But the French commander had gout, and no French officer had the energy to replace him; and lastly, Chanda Sahïb, in spite of his impetuosity, lacked self-confidence, and dared not undertake anything against the English without the help of the French.

Summary of the action : Gingen arrived in front of Volcondah before the French and established himself in a very strong position. The hope of the English commander was to intimidate the Moslem who governed the fortress. The English commander lost fifteen days in vain negotiations with the cunning Indian, all under the

eyes of d'Auteuil, who remained inactive. Dupleix wrote daily to the old officer [d'Auteuil], urging him to attack, but *without success*[582]. Finally, Gingens attempted an assault on the place before the French. Here too, a French flank attack would have destroyed the British. But d'Auteuil did not move. The English easily carried the town's rampart, but, exhausted, postponed the storming of the citadel.

During the night, the Muslim governor admitted the French troops into the citadel. The English, entirely unaware of this, attacked the following morning. At the sound of the cannon, d'Auteuil, though crippled with gout, recovered his energy and mounted a vigorous defense. "... and the English, crushed, seized with anuncontrollable panic, fled, abandoning their allies and their artillery[583]." Then the French commander's sudden burst of energy evaporated as he saw the English flee. He let them vanish without pursuit, though he could easily have ended the war by destroying the English army of India. Prudence does not always spare human lives (especially in the long term). Xenophon observed[584] that there were fewer deaths in battle among the Spartans-Lacedaemonian than in armies that allowed themselves to fall into panic.

Casualties ♦*English*: heavy. ♦Fairly light on the French side.

The consequence of this English defeat was that the English, charged with the usual imprecations[585] of the partisans of Muhammad Ali, reached Trichinopoly where they reorganized.

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[582] He, usually a good general, had lost all will to act, disturbed by his gout attack.
[583] Wrote an eyewitness who must not have been English, judging by the lexical choice of the commentary.
[584] In his *work Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, IX, Xenophon [circum 430-325 B.C.] was an Athenian Greek historian, philosopher, and general, a pupil of Socrates. Lacedaemon was the ancient name of Sparta.
[585] Muslim insults that would infuriate the feminist movements of the twenty-first century.

Fortifications in Valikondapuram (Volkondah). Priv.Coll.

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